THE

HISTORY

OF

FRANCE,

FROM THE

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT

OF THAT

MONARCHY:

INCLUDING AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PRESENT REVOLUTION.

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Res geſtæ regumque ducumque, & triſtia Bella. Hor.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

CHAP.

Page

CHAP. XXVIII.

CHAP. XXIX.

CHAP. XXX.

CHAP. XXXI.

CHAP. XXXV.

CHAP. XXXVI.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

CHAP. XXXIX.

CHAP. XL.

CHAP. XLIII.

CHAP. XLIV.

CHAP. XLV.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE

THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Francis the Second succeeds to the Throne — Character of Catherine of Medicis and the Guises — Of the Conſtable Montmorency, the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral Coligny — Perſecution of the Hugonots — Conſpiracy of Amboiſe — Impriſonment and Condemnation of the Prince of Condé — Death of Francis.

THE age of Francis, on the death of his father, qualified him immediately to have aſſumed the reins of government; but his feeble body was animated by a mind more feeble; and incapable of ſtate affairs, he reſigned himſelf to the abſolute controul of his mother, Catherine of Medicis, and of the Guiſes, the uncles of his queen, Mary of Scotland. A. D. 1559.

Catherine of Medicis, from her rank as mother to the young king, might juſtly urge her ſuperior pretenſions to power. Her rival, Diana de Poitiers, on the death of Henry, abandoned by the minions of her proſperity, had ſunk into obſcurity,

and was permitted to paſs the remainder of her days in retirement. The talents of Catherine, which had been overſhadowed by the charms of Diana, now ſhone forth in full luſtre. Bold, enterpriſing, and ſagacious, her courage was never diſconcerted, and her penetration was ſeldom eluded. Inſinuating in her manners, magnificent in her diſpoſition, and liberal to profuſion; a generous patroneſs of the arts and ſciences, amidſt the horrors of war, ſhe foſtered and protected the ſeeds of learning, which had been introduced in the reigns of Francis and Henry; but reverſe the medal, and ſhe was cruel, rapacious, and deceitful; profligate in her morals, and unbounded in her ambition; without ſentiment, without feeling, without religion, her prejudices and her paſſions, were equally abſorbed by an inordinate luſt of dominion.

The duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, as the uncles of Mary of Scotland, found an eaſy acceſs to the perſon of their ſovereign, and might claim with propriety the firſt employments of the ſtate. The former by the defence of Metz, and the recovery of Calais, had eſtabliſhed his military renown, and ſecured the attachment of the army; his humanity, courteſy, and liberality, equally endeared him to the people; zealous for the eſtabliſhed religion, his ambition might have been reſtrained by duty and gratitude, had it not been inflamed by his brother the cardinal of Lorrain. That prelate was venerated by the clergy as the guardian of their immunities, and by the catholics as the champion of their faith; verſed in the wiles of courts, fruitful in expedients, and eloquent in debate, he was too readily elated by ſucceſs, and too eaſily depreſſed by defeat. His perſonal courage was ever doubted; his vindictive temper was ever dreaded; and the diſſolute pleaſures of his private life, vied with the preſumption of his public conduct.

To

To oppoſe three ſuch formidable candidates for miniſterial power, the conſtable Montmorency, grown grey in the ſervice of Francis and Henry, could only rely on the merit of former actions, and the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity. Haughty and inflexible in his diſpoſition, ſevere to the failings of others and to his own, he was ill calculated for thoſe delicate intrigues which require a flexible temper and inſinuating addreſs. Accuſtomed to be placed at the head of affairs, he regarded it as his due; yet his ardour for the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed religion, prevented him from embracing the only means by which he could attain it, a ſtrict alliance with the princes of the blood.

Of theſe Anthony of Bourbon king of Navarre, was the firſt, and derived additional luſtre from his pretenſions to that kingdom, and an increaſe of conſequence from the poſſeſſion of Bearn. Nature had endowed him with a diſpoſition mild, humane, and eaſily wrought on; but had denied the commanding genius requiſite to curb the aſpiring ſpirits of the age. Timid and irreſolute, he fluctuated between the two religions of catholic and hugonot; and indulgent to the pleaſures of love, his political engagements were often diſſolved by the charms of the fair.

From this ſtain the character of his brother Lewis, prince of Condé, was not free; and though his perſon was ungraceful and diminutive, he received from women the moſt flattering proofs of their affection; but an amorous complexion was the only foil to qualities the moſt ſplendid, and virtues the moſt heroic. Of high and determined courage, he was formed to ſhine in camps as well as courts; and though his income was narrow, he diſplayed a magnificence of temper worthy his birth and ſtation. He had early attached himſelf to the doctrines of the reformed, from which no arts could allure him;

and his ſteadineſs to thoſe religious principles might probably be confirmed by the oppoſite conduct in the duke of Guiſe, whom he conſidered through life as the rival of his fame and fortune.

The admiral Coligny had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the defence of St. Quintin; but his perſonal courage was the leaſt of the numerous qualities which adorned him. He, of all the chiefs, perhaps alone, from conviction, had renounced the errors of the church of Rome, and embraced the doctrines of Calvin. Brave, generous, and ſincere, he was actuated by no ſelfiſh views, he was impelled by no baſe or private paſſions. To obtain liberty of conſcience for himſelf, and for thoſe who profeſſed the ſame tenets, was all that he required; and it was with the reluctance of a patriot that he found himſelf compelled to ſeek it amidſt the horrors of civil war. The pious ſcruples of his brother d'Andelot had already expoſed him to the diſpleaſure of the late king; and zealous in the cauſe of religious freedom, he ſeemed to court danger with an enthuſiaſtic valour.

Such were the characters deſtined to extort our admiration, amidſt the calamities with which their intriguing genius, wild ambition, or intemperate zeal, afflicted their country. The feeble monarch himſelf, was obſcured by the ſhining talents of his ſubjects; and when the deputies of the parliament waited on Francis to expreſs their duty and allegiance to his perſon, he informed them that he had thought proper to inveſt the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain with the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs, aſſigning to the former the military department, and the finances to the latter.

Had the king of Navarre liſtened to the importunities of the conſtable Montmorency, and immediately on the diſaſtrous fate of Henry, preſented himſelf at court, his rank, as firſt prince of the blood, might have overawed and baffled the ſchemes of his adverſaries;

adverſaries; but Anthony, who was by nature irreſolute, and peculiarly diſtruſtful of Montmorency, to whom he imputed the dereliction of his rights at the late peace, advanced by ſlow journies, and arrived not, till the conſtable was diſmiſſed from his office of maſter of the houſehold, to his ſeat at Chantilly; his own reception, with that of his brother the prince of Condé, was cold and diſreſpectful; yet both conſented to aſſiſt at the king's coronation, which was performed at Rheims by the cardinal of Lorrain, archbiſhop of that ſee; and the king of Navarre was ſoon after perſuaded by Catherine of Medicis to conduct the princeſs Elizabeth to the frontiers of Spain, and was afterwards detained in Bearn, with the vain hope of recovering his former dominions by a negociation, with which he was amuſed by the queen-mother and the duke of Alva.

On the retreat of that prince, Catherine and the Guiſes no longer affected to conceal thoſe deſigns which they had ſo long meditated; every precaution to enſure the obedience of the people, and to deprive them of the means of defence, had been already taken. An edict appeared, forbidding any perſon to carry fire arms, or to wear any dreſs favourable to the concealment of ſuch weapons. Coligny, whoſe high ſpirit and commanding genius was peculiarly dreaded, was aimed at by a ſecond regulation, which declared that no perſon ſhould hold two poſts at the ſame time; the admiral immediately reſigned the government of Picardy; but the pretenſions of the prince of Condé were diſregarded, and that province was entruſted to the mareſchal Briſac, while the duke of Guiſe ſucceeded to the office of maſter of the houſehold, of which the conſtable had been diſpoſſeſſed.

Such were the meaſures preparatory to the perſecution of the proteſtants, who about this time began firſt to be ſtyled Hugonots; but no ſooner was the ground

ground cleared before them, than the councils of Catherine and the Guiſes were diſtinguiſhed by a more ſanguinary and deciſive ſpirit. Courts of eccleſiaſtical judicature, inveſted with inquiſitorial powers, were erected, which took cognizance of hereſy; and they were denominated the *Chambres Ardentes*, from the ſeverity of the puniſhments which they inflicted. The ſtricteſt ſearch was made to diſcover offenders; the moſt flagitious crimes were ſtudiouſly imputed to their nightly aſſemblies; and every orthodox catholic was taught to regard them with abhorrence. The rigour which prevailed in the capital was ſoon extended to the provinces; and the proſelytes to calviniſm, after fruitleſs appeals to their blameleſs conduct, found themſelves compelled to ſeek ſafety in reſiſtance. The numbers of troops which had been diſbanded at the late peace, beſieged the court with clamours for that recompenſe which they thought due to their ſervices; the cardinal of Lorrain, wearied with their importunities, and unable to ſatisfy their demands, commanded them to retire, on pain of being inſtantly hung upon a gallows erected for that purpoſe; and by his inſolent brutality alienated the minds of theſe military adventurers from the houſe of Guiſe, and at the ſame time ſtrengthened the hands, and ſwelled the partizans of the hugonots.

Theſe began already to bear with impatience the repeated inſults and unwearied malice of their perſecutors; their confidence was increaſed by the alarming ſymptoms of decay which menaced the life of Francis. Minard, a magiſtrate who had diſplayed peculiar activity in the ſeizure and conviction of the proteſtants, was ſuddenly aſſaſſinated. Though it never could be diſcovered with certainty from what hand the blow came, yet Robert Stuart, a native of Scotland, incurred the ſuſpicion of the court. He in vain beſought the protection of Mary, to whom he

he declared himſelf related; that princeſs denied him as her kinſman, and rather ſtimulated than repreſſed the fury of his proſecutors. The ſecurity that he vainly expected from the favour of his ſovereign, he found in his own conſtancy; nor could the ſevereſt tortures extort a confeſſion from a boſom ſteeled by conſcious innocence, or animated by religious zeal. He was at laſt reluctantly diſmiſſed by the judges, to maintain in future by his valour the tenets which he profeſſed.

The ſeeds of diſcontent were widely diffuſed throughout the kingdom, and A. D. 1560. the breath of an able leader was only wanted to wake them into life. This was found in a gentleman of Perigord, named John de Bary la Renaudie, of an ancient family, but of a ruined fortune; he had been caſt in a law ſuit, and condemned to a ſevere fine and baniſhment for having produced fictitious titles. He endeavoured, in foreign countries, to reſtore the reputation which he had ſo fatally wounded in his own. He retired to Geneva and Lauſanne, imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation; and among his exiled countrymen acquired an high and juſt character for intrepidity, eloquence, ſagacity, and that enterpriſing genius ſo peculiarly requiſite in the leader of a conſpiracy. Under a feigned name, and in diſguiſe, he traverſed the different provinces of France, explored the hopes, and inflamed the reſentments of thoſe who profeſſed the ſame religious principles with himſelf; and at length appointed a general rendezvous at Nantes, where the parliament of Brittany was at that time ſitting. From various parts of the kingdom, above two hundred gentlemen of noble extraction, and conſiderable influence in their reſpective diſtricts, attended his ſummons; and Renaudie, in glowing colours, preſented to their view the arrogance and formidable power of the Guiſes, the weakneſs of the king, the dangerous artifices of Catherine,

Catherine, the wrongs of the proteſtants; and their juſt hopes that the prince of Condé would readily place himſelf at the head of an aſſociation, which alone could afford him ſecurity, as ſoon as it attained a certain degree of ſtrength; but he at the ſame time ſolemnly proteſted to preſerve his allegiance to Francis inviolable; and that it was only his intention to liberate the kingdom from the tyranny of the Guiſes. His ſpeech was received with univerſal approbation; the conſpirators agreed to aſſemble their dependants; by different and private roads to meet at Blois, where the court then reſided; to preſent a petition to the king to indulge them in the free exerciſe of their religious tenets; and to ſeize the perſons of the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorrain, as enemies to the kingdom and to the public tranquillity.

But it was not probable that a ſecret, confided to ſo many, would be preſerved with the fidelity that ſo delicate an enterpriſe required. The court, from different quarters, were warned of near and formidable danger; at length the particulars of the conſpiracy were divulged by a proteſtant lawyer, at whoſe houſe in Paris Renaudie had lodged, and to whom he had imparted his deſigns. To diſconcert the ſchemes of their enemies, the Guiſes immediately removed Francis from Blois to the caſtle of Amboiſe, as a place more capable of defence; under the royal ſignature they commanded the inſtant attendance of the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligny, and his brother d' Andelot; and the prompt obedience of theſe powerful chiefs allayed the fears of the court, and evinced, whatever might be their private wiſhes, that they had not openly embarked in the daring project of Renaudie. The duke of Guiſe himſelf, to provide againſt every emergency, was created lieutenant general, with ſupreme power in all cauſes, civil and military; an appointment, which was oppoſed

poſed by the chancellor Olivier, but ſupported by Catherine of Medicis; who rightly judged the effuſion of blood which muſt neceſſarily attend the exerciſe of ſuch unqualified authority in theſe turbulent times, would ſerve to load the poſſeſſor of it with additional odium.

Though Renaudie was conſcious that his plans were betrayed, and that the court was prepared, he deferred, but did not deſiſt from, his daring enterpriſe; and ſeveral of the conſpirators, marching in ſmall bands, and only during the night, appeared at the gates, and ſtruck terror through the caſtle of Amboiſe; they were repulſed, and cut to pieces by the loyal zeal of the inhabitants, guided by the ſkill, and animated by the ſpirit of the duke of Guiſe. Several parties of the confederates were intercepted, and the baron de Caſtlenau, at the head of a conſiderable body of the calviniſts, was inveſted in the caſtle of Noiſy, by the ſuperior forces of the duke of Nemours, and ſurrendered on promiſe of life for himſelf and his aſſociates. Renaudie informed of the danger of Caſtlenau, with a few deſperate companions, preſſed forwards to ſhare his fortune. In the foreſt of Chateau-Renaud he was met by the baron de Pardaillon, at the head of two hundred cavalry; he defended himſelf with a bravery heightened by deſpair; and after beholding the ſlaughter of almoſt the whole of his party, he ſpurred his horſe up to Pardaillon, and thruſting a poinard through his vizor, laid him dead upon the ground. He himſelf was immediately after ſhot through the thigh, and died fighting deſperately to the laſt. His body was publicly expoſed on a gibbet, and a label affixed to it, with the inſcription of *Chief of the Rebels*, and his diſmembered limbs were afterwards left to putrify on ſtakes in the neighbourhood of Amboiſe.

Yet the fate of Renaudie, and the unrelenting ſeverity of the Guiſes, could not extinguiſh that

flame

flame which religion had kindled, and which has conſtantly been found to derive new force from perſecution. In a few days after their leader had fallen, la Mothe and Coqueville, two of the conſpirators appeared at the gates, and penetrated into the ſuburbs of Amboiſe. They were overwhelmed by the numbers of the royal forces, and combating with a reſolution that only religious frenzy could inſpire, they were buried under the ruins of the burning houſes. This ſecond attempt ſtimulated the ardour of juſtice; each haunt of the conſpirators was explored; twelve hundred expired under the hands of the executioner; the waters of the Loire were purpled with their blood; and the air was tainted with their wretched carcaſes which were denied the rites of burial.

But the deſtruction of the obſcure multitude ſatiated not the vengeance of the perſecutors of the reformed. The aſſurances of ſafety which Caſtelnau had received from the duke of Nemours, and the interceſſion of the moſt reſpectable noblemen of the court, could not preſerve him from the implacable enmity of the princes of Lorrain; he ſubmitted to his ſentence with compoſed courage, and rejected every temptation that was held out to include the prince of Condé as his accomplice; a declaration to that effect had been extorted by torture from two of his companions; but Caſtelnau firmly refuted the aſperſion, and in the laſt moments of his life aſſerted the innocence of the prince.

In the preſence of the king, the prince of Condé vindicated his honour from the late imputation, and with the intrepidity natural to him, offered to maintain his innocence in ſingle combat againſt his accuſer. The duke of Guiſe, at whom this defiance was levelled, eluded the challenge, by warmly praiſing the prince's conduct, and declaring that he was ready to be his ſecond againſt any antagoniſt; yet

yet in private he urged the propriety of ſecuring a chief whoſe birth, genius, and ſpirit, rendered him capable of the moſt daring enterpriſes. Francis perhaps would have been eaſily wrought to compliance; but the chancellor Olivier, about this time, ſunk into the grave, lamenting, with his laſt breath, the ſanguinary ſcenes to which he had been witneſs. The ſeals on his demiſe were beſtowed on Michael de l'Hoſpital, an able miniſter, but devoted to the queen-mother. He ſuggeſted to her the danger of the Guiſes acquiring a permanent aſcendancy, and confirmed her in that ſyſtem of temporizing policy ſo happily adapted to her genius and diſpoſition. In conſequence of his counſels, Catherine ſecretly ſupported the prince of Condé and the hugonots; but a ſhort time after the execution of Caſtelnau, an aſſembly of the nobility was convened at Fontainbleau; the conſtable, the admiral, and his brother d'Andelot, attended with a numerous train of adherents; and Coligny entering the cabinet of his ſovereign, preſented a petition for the toleration of the reformed religion; adding, that although no name was affixed to it, whenever his majeſty would ſignify his pleaſure, it would be ſigned by one hundred and fifty thouſand perſons. It was oppoſed with the utmoſt aſperity by the Guiſes, but their violence was checked by the ſecret ſuggeſtions of Catherine, and Francis declared his intention of aſſembling the ſtates in the enſuing December, to reconcile all religious differences.

On the concluſion of this council, the king of Navarre and his brother the prince of Condé, who had attended it, withdrew into Bearn, where doubtful of the promiſed convention of the ſtates, they concerted meaſures to diſpoſſeſs the Guiſes of their power and offices; but the diſpoſition of the former, always irreſolute, revoked his aſſent, and diſconcerted a ſcheme which had been planned by the adherents

adherents of the latter, for ſurpriſing the city of Lyons; yet the intrigues of the princes were not ſo ſecretly conducted, but they ſoon reached the ears of the court. Catherine, alarmed at their preſumption, again united herſelf to the Guiſes; and an emiſſary belonging to the king of Navarre, named la Sague, was ſeized at Eſtampes, by order of the queen-mother; the letters which he carried, contained expreſſions dark and myſterious; thoſe of Francis de Vendome, Vidame of Chartres were, by the perſonal enmity of the Guiſes, conſtrued into treaſon; that nobleman, the moſt gallant of the court, and who had been deemed peculiarly acceptable to the queen-mother, now experienced the tranſition of paſſions, and beheld her regard converted into hatred, which ſuffered him to languiſh out his life in confinement.

But while the princes of the houſe of Bourbon maintained their liberty, the power of Catherine and the Guiſes was expoſed to be ſhaken by every rude blaſt; and the court, fearful of venturing on open hoſtilities, determined to ſacrifice the faith of the ſovereign, rather than hazard the tranquillity of the kingdom. The aſſembly of the ſtates, which had been appointed for Meaux, was now transferred to Orleans; and the young king, whoſe health hourly declined, and whoſe impending diſſolution haſtened the deſigns of the Guiſes, proceeded towards that city with a train of a thouſand horſe. The Mareſchal de St. Andre, brave, polite, and inſinuating, but needy, diſſipated, and unprincipled, and chained by his wants to the ſervice of the houſe of Lorrain, was diſpatched to the king of Navarre and his brother with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of amity: they reluctantly ſat out on a journey which was pregnant with the greateſt danger; and in the courſe of which they received intimations of the moſt alarming nature; each day added ſome new proof

proof of the impetuous counſels of the Guiſes, and of the too ready acquieſcence of the eaſy monarch; but they had advanced now too far to recede different parties had been ſtationed on the road behind to intercept their retreat or flight; and with a ſlender train, but an undaunted countenance, they at length entered the city of Orleans.

On entering the royal preſence, they were at firſt received by Francis with coldneſs, which gave way to reproaches. The king ſeated between their enemies the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorrain, and, ſurrounded by the captains of his guard, arraigned the prince of Condé in the moſt violent terms, accuſed him of having attempted to ſeize on the principal cities of his dominions, and even having plotted againſt his life, and that of his brothers. Condé, not in the leaſt diſmayed, offered to prove his innocence. "To aſcertain it," replied Francis, "it is neceſſary to proceed by the uſual modes of juſtice;" he immediately quitted the room, and after a ſhort conference with Catherine, who with her uſual duplicity affected to deplore the violence which ſhe herſelf recommended, the two princes were arreſted by the captains of the guard; the king of Navarre was conducted to an adjoining apartment, where, though carefully watched, he was allowed the liberty of converſation; but the prince of Condé was confined in a houſe erected for the purpoſe in a public ſquare, where all hope of eſcape was ſhut out by bars of iron; and all idea of reſcue precluded, by a numerous and vigilant guard, protected by ſeveral pieces of cannon.

The Hugonots received with terror and aſtoniſhment the intelligence of a meaſure in which they were ſo deeply concerned; d'Andelot, with his uſual ſagacity had foreſeen the ſtorm, and under the pretence of chaſtiſing the diſobedience of ſome officers

officers under his command, had withdrawn to Brittany; his brother the admiral, bold in conſcious innocence, ſtill remained in Orleans; but he owed his ſafety rather to the appearance of moderation, which the Guiſes ſtill affected to preſerve, and to the dread of rendering deſperate the whole body of the reformed, than to the blameleſs tenor of his own conduct.

But with the prince of Condé, every thing proclaimed the reſolution of the houſe of Lorrain to ſeize the preſent moment, and to extinguiſh the formidable rival of their fame and fortunes. The chancellor and five judges were appointed to interrogate him in priſon; but the gloomy reſtraint to which he was condemned, could not ſhake the magnanimous mind of Lewis; he rejected with indignation the ſubſervient tribunal, and boldly demanded that public trial to which his dignity entitled him. His undaunted courage ſecured his reputation, but could not have averted the malice of his enemies; Groſlot, the bailiff of Orleans, who was ſuſpected of endeavouring to excite the compaſſion of the inhabitants in favour of the prince, was accuſed of conniving at the meetings of the heretics; he was tried, condemned, and executed; and his fate was conſidered only as preparatory to that of Condé.

Catherine in vain ſaw the error that ſhe had committed in uniting herſelf too cloſely with the princes of Lorrain, and deſtroying that balance of parties that gave conſequence to her own ſituation. Borne away with the ſtream, ſhe was no longer capable of reſiſtance; and the fate of the prince of Condé appeared inevitable, when he was preſerved from the impending ſtroke by an event as momentous as it was unexpected. The king on the morning of Groſlot's execution had gone out to the chace; on his return he was ſeized with a violent pain in his head,

head, attended with fainting. It was ſoon diſcovered that an impoſthume had formed in his ear, and the ſurgeons pronounced the ſymptoms mortal. The Guiſes, impatient of every delay, and apprehenſive leſt their prey ſhould eſcape them, hurried on the proceſs with an indecent haſte which ſwept away every form of juſtice; and the prince of Condé was condemned by his judges to have his head ſtruck off on a ſcaffold before the king's apartment.

But the chancellor, ever averſe to theſe violent meaſures, and ſenſible of the danger which might ariſe from the execution of ſo iniquitous a ſentence, withheld, under various pretences, his ſignature to the order for the prince's execution; to this delay the prince of Condé was indebted for his life; for while the Guiſes ſtill aſſailed Francis with inceſſant importunities, the feeble frame of that monarch yielded to the inveteracy of his diſeaſe, and he expired in the eighteenth year of his age and the ſecond of his reign. His character preſents a blameleſs void, unmarked by virtue or vice, and his languid diſpoſition appears to have been equally incapable of diſcharging the duties of his rank, or enjoying the pleaſures of his age. Amidſt the various cabals of his court, his corpſe was indecently neglected; Catherine and the Guiſes were engaged in extending or confirming their influence; and the funeral obſequies of the deceaſed monarch were only attended by Sanſac and la Broſſe, who had been his governors, and Guillard, biſhop of Senlis, who had long been blind.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Charles the ninth, king of France—Catherine ſecures the regency—Maſſacre of Vaſſy—Revolt of the Hugonots—Battle of St. Denis, and death of Montmorency—Battle of Jarnac, and death of the prince of Condé—Peace with the Hugonots—Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew—Civil war—Death of Charles the ninth.

A. D. 1560. 1561. THE death of Francis, and the ſucceſſion of Charles the ninth, then only in the eleventh year of his age, opened a new and boundleſs field to the intriguing genius of Catherine of Medicis. Courted mutually by the princes of Bourbon and Lorrain, ſhe diſplayed that maſterly addreſs for which ſhe was ſo eminent, in ſecuring for herſelf the firſt place in the government. Mary, the widow of the deceaſed monarch ſoon retired to her native kingdom of Scotland. The prince of Condé, releaſed from his fetters, was pronounced guiltleſs of the crimes laid to his charge, and readmitted to his ſeat in council; the king of Navarre obtained the title of lieutenant-general; but the powers of regent, though without the name, were veſted by the ſtates in the queen-mother. To ſecure her authority, ſhe attached to her ſide the conſtable Montmorency; ſhe united in a cloſe confederacy that veteran ſtateſman, the duke of Guiſe and the mareſchal de St. Andre; and by this league, to which was applied the name of the *Triumvirate*, ſhe hoped to repreſs the aſpiring deſigns of the princes of Bourbon, who ſupported by Coligni, and ſeconded by the hearts and hands of the reformed, might,

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ſhe feared, affix limits to the authority ſhe panted after.

But Catherine herſelf experienced the fate that attends thoſe who relinquiſh the plain road to tread the crooked paths of policy, and was ſoon bewildered in the mazes of her own cunning and artifice. The ceremony of Charles's coronation was ſcarce performed at Rheims, before his mother began to regard with ſuſpicion and diſtruſt the very confederacy ſhe had ſo lately formed. She attempted to balance it by another of equal political weight: ſhe allured Anthony king of Navarre by the charms of mademoiſelle de Rouet, one of her maids of honour, to renounce his claim to the regency as firſt prince of the blood; and ſhe gratified the admiral Coligni by avowedly patroniſing the doctrines and followers of Calvin. The Triumvirate, diſguſted at the loſs of their credit, and at the preference ſhewn to the hugonots, under pretence of attachment to the ancient religion, quitted the court, and drew along with them the fickle and credulous king of Navarre, by a promiſe, which they pretended to have received from the king of Spain, of ceding to him the iſland of Sardinia as a compenſation for the kingdom of Navarre.

Although Anthony and the triumvirate ſeemed entirely to have abandoned the court, and to leave Catherine to the counſels of the prince of Condé and Coligni, they only waited a favourable opportunity of regaining their former influence; while the prince and admiral, ſenſible of the motives which actuated the queen-mother, and induced her apparently to lean to the proteſtants, prepared to encounter the tempeſt of her future enmity by a ſtrict alliance with the princes of Germany. A. D. 1562.

Such was the doubtful ſituation of affairs; and each party, in the tranſient moments of tranquil-

lity, was diligently employed in ſtrengthening their own pretenſions, when a fatal accident haſtened the rupture between the factions, and let looſe the united rage of perſonal and religious rancour. The duke of Guiſe returning towards Paris, to animate by his preſence the inhabitants, had halted at Vaſſy, a little town of Champagne. His attendants inſulted a congregation of proteſtants, who were aſſembled at their devotions; the followers of the duke were repulſed by the reformed with ſtones, and as he himſelf attempted to quell the diſpute, he was wounded in the face. His domeſtics, enraged at the ſight of their maſter's blood, drew their ſwords, and killed and wounded above two hundred and fifty of the Hugonots. When the tumult was over, the duke of Guiſe ſeverely reprehended the magiſtrate for ſuffering theſe aſſemblies; and on his pleading the late royal edict in favour of the calviniſts, he laid his hand on his ſword, and angrily replied, "this ſhall ſoon cut the bond of that "edict though never ſo ſtrong."

The prince of Condé, then with the court at the palace of Monceaux, demanded inſtant reparation for the maſſacre at Vaſſy; and the queen-mother as readily promiſed him the moſt ample ſatisfaction; but the king of Navarre and the triumvirate, confident in their own union, rejected her authority, and derided her commands. The duke of Guiſe himſelf ſoon after arrived at Paris with twelve hundred horſe; in his march to Fontainbleau his forces were ſwelled by a prodigious train of adherents; and Catherine fearful of being deprived of the ſupreme management of affairs, ſummoned to her aſſiſtance the prince of Condé then at his ſeat near Meaux; her language, animated and pathetic, exhorted him ſtrongly to reſcue her ſon from captivity, and afforded him the pretence he wiſhed for to arm his aſſociates. With a ſmall, but daring, band

band he paſſed the river Seine at St. Cloud, in his way to join her; but though the confederate lords might deſpiſe his inferior numbers, they gladly embraced the occaſion to make themſelves maſters of the king's perſon, under the pretext of reſcuing him from the enterpriſes of the Hugonots; Catherine incapable of reſiſtance, vainly lamented the conſequence of her own wiles: nor could the impotent tears of the royal youth change the deſigns of the confederates, who conducted him, with his indignant mother, firſt to Milan, and afterwards to the capital.

But the retreat of the king, and the difficulties which preſented themſelves, ſerved to inflame inſtead of damping the ardour of the prince of Condé; after conferring a few moments with the admiral, he embraced as his only hope of honourable ſecurity, the dangers of civil war; accompanied by two thouſand cavalry, he preſſed forwards to Orleans and inſtantly made himſelf maſter of that city. He was immediately choſen chief of the reformed by unanimous conſent, and neglected no precautions which could contribute to ſucceſs; he diſpatched meſſengers to Germany, to ſolicit the aid of the proteſtant brethren; and he conciliated the minds of the loyal, by the declaration that he took up arms to relieve the king and his mother from the captivity in which they were held by the Triumvirate.

The chancellor de l'Hoſpital yet laboured to avert the tempeſt which impended over his country; by his exhortations two fruitleſs conferences were held between Catherine and the prince of Condé. The latter in the firſt engaged to quit the kingdom, if his enemies would conſent to relinquiſh the adminiſtration; the triumvirs had previouſly given a promiſe to that effect, and affected to perform it by retiring to Chateau-Dun. But Coligni, always

jealous of the intentions of the queen-mother, and conſcious of the danger to the hugonots if abandoned by their chief, perſuaded him to break off the treaty, and rather truſt to arms, than to the doubtful faith of Catherine.

The operations of war were immediately commenced; the royal army, animated by the preſence of Charles and his mother, after recovering and plundering, Blois, Tours, and Bourges, inveſted Rouen, which was defended with obſtinate valour by Montgomery, celebrated for his fatal tournament with Henry the Second; and who had withdrawn from the implacable reſentment of Catherine to England, embraced the doctrines of the reformed, and now returned to vindicate them with his ſword. The inhabitants encouraged by his example, refuſed all offers of capitulation; at length the city was taken by aſſault, and abandoned to the fury and rapacity of the ſoldiers; Montgomery himſelf eſcaped with a few companions in a boat, by breaking the chains which were ſtretched acroſs the river Caudabec; but Anthony king of Navarre received in the courſe of the ſiege a wound in his ſhoulder, which ſoon proved mortal. He expired at a time when his judgment began to open, and when he was ſincerely deſirous of effacing the unfavourable opinions his fickle conduct had impreſſed. His laſt words evinced his attachment to the reformed religion; and he ordered thoſe who were near him to carry his injunctions to his widow, to be ever on her guard, to ſtrengthen the fortified parts ſhe poſſeſſed, and neither to truſt herſelf or her children at court.

In the mean time the prince of Condé, reinforced by the proteſtant princes of Germany, with an army of twelve thouſand men, advanced towards the capital. After repeated attempts to intimidate the inhabitants, and ſurpriſe the gates of Paris, he decamped,

decamped, and retired towards Normandy. In his retreat he was purſued and harraſſed by the forces of the confederates, and at Dreux in Normandy the rival armies engaged with mutual enmity. The impetuous charge of the hugonots at firſt trampled down all oppoſition; the conſtable Montmorency, wounded in the face, was taken priſoner by Robert Stuart, who already has been noticed as ſuſpected of the aſſaſſination of the catholic magiſtrate Minard. But the day was reſtored by the calm intrepidity of the duke of Guiſe; he ſuddenly fell upon and put to flight the hugonots diſperſed in the purſuit; the prince of Condé, diſmounted and ſurrounded, ſurrendered to Henry d'Amville, the ſecond ſon of the conſtable; but Coligni ſtill maintained the combat with perſevering valour; under cover of the night he retreated with the troops that he had rallied towards Orleans; and carried with him two pieces of the royal cannon, and his captive Montmorency.

The victory of Dreux eſtabliſhed the martial fame of the Duke of Guiſe; and his military renown was rivalled by the politeneſs with which he received his captive the prince of Condé; he lodged him in his own tent, and even divided with him his bed. The ſame field in which he triumphed over his enemies, diminiſhed the number of his competitors. Of the Triumvirs the conſtable was a priſoner to Coligni; the mareſchal de St. Andre had fallen in the conflict by the hand of a gentleman named Bobigni, whoſe eſtate he enjoyed by confiſcation; and Catherine, though ſhe dreaded the riſing genius of the houſe of Lorrain, conferred on the victorious chief the ſupreme command of the army with which he had been already inveſted by the tumultuous acclamations of his ſoldiers.

After

A. D. 1563. After the diſaſtrous action of Dreux, Coligni had retired into Normandy, as moſt convenient to receive the ſupplies he expected from Elizabeth queen of England, who had eſtabliſhed in that kingdom the proteſtant religion, and viewed with jealouſy the danger to which it was expoſed in France. But the admiral in his retreat, conſcious of the importance of Orleans, had left in that city his brother d' Andelot, with two thouſand of his beſt troops; the reputation of the commander, the numbers of his garriſon, and the inclemency of the ſeaſon, could not deter the duke of Guiſe from aſpiring to the conqueſt of Orleans, and he inveſted that city with his victorious army. A month had ſcarce elapſed before he had made himſelf maſter of the bridge acroſs the Loire, and the ſuburbs; and the fate of Orleans appeared inevitable, when one moment ſuddenly extinguiſhed the life of the duke of Guiſe, and revived the fainting ſpirits of the hugonots.

He had juſt paſſed the Loire in a little boat, attended only by one gentleman, and without his armour, when John Poltrot de Mere, a gentleman of Angoumois, who had pretended to renounce the reformed religion, and had been liberally entertained by the duke, diſcharged three balls from a piſtol into the left ſhoulder of Francis, and eſcaped on a ſwift horſe to the neighbouring woods. By his mournful friends, the duke of Guiſe was conveyed to his own quarters, and the magnanimity of his laſt moments correſponded with the whole tenor of his life. He recommended to his eldeſt ſon Henry to preſerve an inviolable fidelity to the king; he vindicated himſelf from the intention of the unfortunate maſſacre at Vaſſy; he lamented that event as the ſource of civil diſcord; and exhorted Catherine to extinguiſh the fatal flame which threatened to conſume equally the people and the ſovereign. With the moſt perfect compoſure

compoſure he breathed his laſt; his body followed by immenſe crowds of citizens, was borne in royal pomp to the Chartreux in Paris, and was finally depoſited with his anceſtors at Joinville, in Lorrain.

Poltrot eſcaped not the puniſhment due to ſo flagitious a crime; after wandering the whole night in the woods he found himſelf in the morning ſcarce a mile from Orleans; exhauſted with fatigue he entered a houſe to repoſe himſelf, and was taken while aſleep by one of the duke's ſecretaries. On his examination he accuſed Coligni, d'Andelot, and the prince of Condé, as the inſtigators of his guilt. The parliament adjudged him to the ſame puniſhment as was inflicted on regicides, and he was torn in pieces by horſes. Though in his laſt moments he is ſaid to have perſiſted in his former charges againſt the leaders of the hugonots, yet his declarations were vague and unſupported; and it is probable he was only impelled by that barbarous fanaticiſm which marked the age in which he lived; the admiral, d'Andelot, and Condé, all expreſſed their abhorrence of a crime which their general life and conduct ſeems to refute; but Henry the young duke of Guiſe, ſtill continued to ſuſpect the former, and though then in early youth, vowed immortal hatred and imprecated vengeance on the head of Coligni, as the murderer of his father.

On the death of the duke of Guiſe the mareſchal Briſac was ſummoned to the command of the royal army, and entruſted with the ſiege of Orleans; but Catherine, embarraſſed with the ſupport of the war, and not unmindful of the laſt advice of the duke of Guiſe, made immediate overtures for peace. The terms were ſettled by the conſtable and prince of Condé. The Proteſtants were to renounce their treaty with England, to lay down their arms, reſtore the places they had occupied, and in return to receive a general pardon, and the free exerciſe of the reformed religion.

The articles of peace were ſtrongly diſapproved by the admiral, who conſidered the death of the duke of Guiſe as an event which opened to them the moſt ſplendid proſpect of ſucceſs. But the prince of Condé, was captivated by the charms of Mademoiſelle de Limeuil, one of the maids of honour to Catherine, and deſirous of ſignalizing himſelf againſt the Engliſh, the natural enemies of his country: the united forces of the Catholics and Hugonots preſſed the ſiege of Havre de Grace, which the latter had ceded to Elizabeth in return for her aid. The earl of Warwick commanded in that town a garriſon of ſix thouſand men; but his numbers, which promiſed a vigorous and bloody reſiſtance, were thinned by the ravages of a peſtilential diſeaſe, and he was compelled to capitulate on the honourable condition of retiring with the remnant of his forces. A final accommodation ſoon after took place between the two kingdoms; the hoſtages which had been given for the reſtitution of Calais, were releaſed by the Engliſh for the ſum of two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, and each party was allowed to reſerve their claims and pretenſions to a more favourable opportunity.

Catherine, conſcious of her influence over her ſon, and fearful of admitting the prince of Condé as her colleague in the adminiſtration, by the advice of the chancellor de l'Hoſpital ventured on a new and ſingular expedient; Charles had juſt entered his fourteenth year, but the edict of Charles the fifth had extended the regal minority until the king attained fourteen complete. In defiance of this edict the queen procured an act from the parliament of Roüen, which declared the minority of her ſon expired; the parliament of Paris at firſt rejected this innovation, but Charles himſelf reprimanded them in ſuch ſevere language for their preſumption, as reduced them to compliance.

Ever

Ever reſtleſs and inſiduous, Catherine prevailed on Charles to undertake a progreſs through his dominions; at Bayonne he was met by his ſiſter the queen of Spain attended by the duke of Alva; the interview laſted above three weeks; but while the hours of it ſeemed devoted to diſſipation and feſtivity, they were diligently improved by the queen-mother in ſecret and frequent conferences with the duke of Alva for the extirpation of the reformed; that nobleman, ſtern and unrelenting, recommended meaſures the moſt ſanguinary and arbitrary; and unfortunately for France, his counſels made but too deep an impreſſion on the mind of Catherine. A. D. 1564. 1565.

The conferences at Bayonne were not ſo privately conducted, but that they reached the ears and awakened the jealouſies of the proteſtants. They beheld with diſtruſt the ſeverity which the king of Spain diſplayed towards their brethren in the Netherlands, and with terror the march of the duke of Alva through the countries of Burgundy and Lorrain. The edict which had been promulgated in their favour, was inceſſantly violated by the Catholic magiſtrates; they carried their complaints to the admiral and the prince of Condé; the latter of theſe ſtill hoped to obtain the title of lieutenant general which the late king of Navarre had enjoyed; and both concurred in expreſſing their unwillingneſs to rekindle the flames of civil commotion. For two years they repreſſed the zeal and ardour of their party; at length the prince of Condé perceived himſelf duped by the promiſe of an office, which the queen-mother deſigned for her ſecond and favourite ſon, Henry duke of Anjou; he received intelligence that the life of Coligni, and his own freedom, were hourly menaced; he liſtened to the bold and deciſive counſels of d'Andelot the brother of the admiral, and determined once more to unſheath the ſword. A. D. 1566.

Though

A. D. 1567. Though the leaders of the proteſtants had with reluctance conſented to light again the brand of diſcord, yet when once reſolved, their immediate meaſures proclaimed their lofty and enterpriſing genius. The court in perfect confidence repoſed at Monceaux; and the hugonots might well hope, by one ſucceſsful blow, to render themſelves maſters of the king, his mother, and his miniſters; but Catherine had already received intimation of their deſigns; ſhe retired haſtily with her ſon into the city of Meaux; and in conſequence of the advice of the cardinal of Lorrain, determined to proceed with Charles to Paris. The youthful monarch, in the midſt of the Swiſs guards, in whoſe undaunted fidelity he confided, quitted Meaux by break of day. He had ſcarce advanced two leagues before the prince of Conde appeared in ſight with five hundred horſe. Montmorency, whoſe natural caution was increaſed by age, dreaded expoſing his ſovereign to the charge of ſo determined a body; after having repulſed the firſt attacks of the hugonots, he ſent Charles forward by private roads, and eſcorted by two hundred cavalry to Paris; while the prince, ignorant that his royal prey had eſcaped, waſted his ſtrength in repeated and ineffectual attempts on the ſteady valour of the Swiſs.

To a train of deluſive negociations ſucceeded the open operations of war; with ſcarce three thouſand ſoldiers, the prince of Condé ſurprized the town of St. Denys, and intercepted the ſupplies of the capital. The conſtable Montmorency was urged by the tumultuous clamours of the Pariſans, to deliver them from the inconveniencies of a ſiege by a deciſive action. He marched forth at the head of near twenty thouſand men, and the hugonots did not ſhun the encounter with the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. With undaunted reſolution they ſuſtained the conflict for above three hours; the conſtable himſelf

was

was thrown to the ground, and mortally wounded by Robert Stuart; yet the intrepid veteran, at the age of ſeventy-five, while falling, ſtruck his adverſary with ſo much violence with the pummel of his ſword, as to beat out ſeveral of his teeth, and to fracture his jaw-bone. Montmorency was reſcued by his ſecond ſon Henry d' Amville; and the proteſtants, overwhelmed by the multitude of their enemies, retired under cover of the night. The conſtable by his weeping kinſman was carried off the field, and conveyed to Paris; and the laſt moments of a life, invariably loyal, were conſoled by the preſence and tears of his ſovereign.

The evening after the battle of St. Denys, the proteſtants were reinforced by d' Andelot, who had been prevented from joining his friends before, by the deſtruction of the bridges over the Seine. Encouraged by his ſupport, the army, ſo lately vanquiſhed, reſumed its former ſtation, blocked up the capital, and even attempted to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſuburbs; they were repulſed at length; and retiring ſlowly before the royal forces, effected a junction with Caſimir, the ſon of the elector palatine, who led to their aſſiſtance a body of Germans. Rochelle declared for the reformed; and la Noue, one of their ableſt chieftains, erected their banner on the walls of Orleans; the valour of the young duke of Guiſe repelled them indeed from Sens; but the prince of Condé, immediately after that miſcarriage, inveſted Chartres. While he yet remained before the city, doubtful of the event of the enterpriſe, terms of accommodation were propoſed; the inability of the prince to ſatisfy the demands of his German auxiliaries, induced him to accept them; and, from the mutual fear and diſtreſſes of the contending parties, a treaty was ſubſcribed, ſimilar to the former, and which was rather a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities than a renewal of peace. A. D. 1567. 1568.

By

A. D. 1568. By the death of Montmorency, the office of conſtable was vacant; and the king, jealous of his authority, coldly rejected the different ſolicitations of his aſpiring courtiers. Even the importunities of Catherine for her favourite ſon Henry, were, on this occaſion, ineffectual, and "I want no perſon to carry my ſword; I am well "able to carry it myſelf;" was the expreſſive reply of Charles. As the character of the youthful monarch began with his years to unfold itſelf, he diſplayed an ardent thirſt of glory, a mind bold and penetrating, and a munificence truly royal: but theſe qualities were darkened by an education vicious and corrupt. The mareſchal de Retz had taught him to intermingle his converſation with the moſt blaſphemous imprecations; and Catherine had early trained him in the arts of diſſimulation, ſo fatal to his honour and repoſe; though he ſtill perſevered in refuſing the ſword of conſtable, the influence of the queen-mother obtained the poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom for the duke of Anjou, then ſcarcely ſixteen years of age.

The hugonots ſoon were convinced how little they could confide in the proteſtations of Catherine; each ſtipulation of the late treaty was inſultingly violated; and a ſcheme was laid to ſurpriſe the prince of Condé, and the admiral, then at Noyers, in Burgundy, a caſtle belonging to the former. With a ſlender eſcort, and incumbered by a timid and feeble train of women and children, the two celebrated leaders of the proteſtants were compelled to ſeek their ſafety by flight; they eluded the numerous detachments of their enemies, traverſed, favoured by an unuſual drought, the river Loire, and, after innumerable perils, arrived at Rochelle.

To that city the ſcattered hugonots from every quarter haſtily repaired; amongſt the reſt Jane, queen of Navarre, appeared with her infant ſon Henry,

Henry, deſtined to be the future ſupport and glory of France. The hoſtile deſigns of the court were open and undiſguiſed. The chancellor de l'Hoſpital, too virtuous for a corrupt adminiſtration, was diſmiſſed from his office, and the ſeals were beſtowed on Morvilliers, biſhop of Orleans, a bigotted catholic. The duke of Anjou, aided by the experience of the mareſchal Tavennes, aſſumed the command of the royal army; while the prince of Condé, ſupplied with ammunition and money by Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt induced her to overlook the late levity of the reformed, took the field, and marched to Soiſſons; the vicinity of the hoſtile armies daily promiſed a deciſive action, but the ſeverity of the ſeaſon compelled them mutually to retire into winter quarters.

That enmity which had ſlept during winter, was arouſed on the return of ſpring. The royal forces rapidly advanced to prevent the prince from effecting a junction with the reinforcements that he expected from Germany. In the province of Angoumois, on the banks of the river Charenté, the proteſtants were overtaken and ſurpriſed by the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. The prince of Condé, in a moment, gave an order and a field of battle to his troops. From a former wound, when the action began, his arm was in a ſcarfe, and as he marched up to the attack, the horſe of his brother-in-law, the count of Rochefoucault, reared, and broke his leg; yet, ſuperior to this painful accident, with an undaunted countenance, he thus addreſſed his followers, "nobility of France, "know, that the prince of Condé, with an arm in "a ſcarfe, and a leg broke, fears not to give battle, "ſince you attend him." The village of Jarnac has been rendered memorable by the courage and conſtancy with which the hugonots diſputed the day; Coligni and d'Andelot, Montgomeri and Rochefoucault, A. D. 1569.

foucault, tranſpierced the thickeſt ranks, and vied with each other in perſonal proweſs; they were at length compelled to quit the field with a ſigh of indignation and deſpair. The prince of Condé, alone incapable of flight, covered with wounds, and exhauſted with fatigue, was ſurrounded and taken priſoner. Thoſe to whom he had yielded his ſword, had ſeated him at the foot of a tree, when Monteſquiou, captain of the duke of Anjou's guards, rode up, and being informed who he was, diſcharged a ball into his head, which inſtantly killed him.

Such was the fate of Lewis prince of Condé, and the manner of his death, after the heat of action was paſt, has affixed an indelible ſtain on the character of the duke of Anjou, who was ſuppoſed to have authoriſed the barbarous deed of Monteſquiou. His body thrown on an aſs, was carried to the caſtle of Jarnac, and after being expoſed to the view of the victorious army, was delivered to the duke of Longueville, his brother-in-law, who interred it with thoſe of his anceſtors at Vendoſme.

Perhaps the inſtigators of this unmanly aſſaſſination, might vainly hope, that with the life of the prince, the ſpirit and fortune of the hugonot party would be extinguiſhed; but the fortitude of Coligni ſoon compelled them to renounce the flattering expectation; inured to adverſity, and fertile in reſources, with the remnants of his broken forces he purſued his rout to St. John d' Angeli, and thence retired into Poitou; the queen of Navarre ſoon joined him with whatever troops ſhe could collect, and preſented to the army her young ſon Henry, who was received by the acclamations of the proteſtants, and declared general, with his couſin the young prince of Condé; but while the names of theſe royal youths added luſtre to the cauſe, the hopes and confidence of the party reſted on the approved abilities and inflexible integrity of the admiral.

Though

Though deprived of the kindred valour of his brother d'Andelot, who expired of a peſtilential fever at Saintes, Coligni again took the field, effected a junction with count Mansfeldt, and the German auxiliaries, and engaged the catholic forces in a ſucceſsful ſkirmiſh; while the count de Montgomery reduced the province of Bearn, and extended his devaſtations into Languedoc. Encouraged by theſe advantages, the admiral undertook the ſiege of Poitiers; but the young duke of Guiſe, emulous of his father's fame, threw himſelf into the town. His reſolute courage, and the near approach of the duke of Anjou induced Coligni to relinquiſh the hopeleſs enterpriſe; and a few days afterwards the clamours of his German allies, whoſe demands he was incapable of ſatisfying, compelled him to hazard the battle of Montconcour.

The victory was diſputed by the rival armies with incredible obſtinacy; and it was not till after ſeveral hours, that the numbers of the catholics, and the ſuperior diſcipline of the Swiſs, triumphed over the perſevering zeal of their adverſaries. The admiral, in the beginning of the action, had been wounded by a piſtol ball, which beat out four of his teeth, and broke his jaw; yet he continued gallantly fighting to the laſt; his voice ſpent, and covered with ſweat and blood, attended only by three hundred horſe, and accompanied by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, he gained Parthenai, about ſix leagues from the field of battle.

The victorious army, inſtead of preſſing their flying enemies, laid ſiege to St. John d'Angeli; and the reſiſtance they encountered in that enterpriſe, allowed the admiral time to re-unite his ſcattered forces. He diſpatched meſſengers into England, Switzerland, and the German ſtates, to announce his perilous condition, and to demand, in the common cauſe of religion, an immediate ſupply of troops and

and money. The king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, joined Montgomery in Bearn, and brought that chief to the ſuccour of the admiral. The port of Rochelle, which the catholics had blocked up, was opened by Sore, a pirate of Dieppe; and la Noue, in that neighbourhood, by ſeveral ſucceſsful enterpriſes extended the quarters of his party. Yet to join the forces which Coligni expected from Germany, it was ſtill neceſſary to traverſe the greateſt part of France; and the admiral, undiſmayed by the inclemency of winter, by the conſiderable rivers which interſected his courſe, by the numerous forces of the catholics ſtationed to intercept him, aſſembled his adherents at Saintes, and accompanied by the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, began a march, which muſt ever rank his name among the moſt celebrated commanders.

Charles himſelf, inflamed with military ardor, and jealous of the fame of his brother Henry, had joined his army before St. John d'Angeli; yet that city continued to withſtand the aſſaults of the beſiegers for above two months; nor did the governor conſent to treat, till the garriſon had totally exhauſted their proviſions; even then he obtained honourable conditions, and was permitted to march out with one hundred horſe and eight hundred foot. The king himſelf, after taking poſſeſſion of the place, could ſcarce be perſuaded from following the rout of Coligni; but was at length induced to relinquiſh the deſign by the remonſtrances of the mareſchal de Tavannes, who repreſented to him the danger of undertaking any new enterpriſe at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year.

A. D. 1570. The admiral directed his courſe along Gaſcony; during the ſeverity of the winter he remained near the ſhore of the Mediterranean in the vicinity of Narbonne; with the return of ſpring he traverſed Languedoc, aſcended the Rhone, and

and after pillaging above fifty, and ranſoming a hundred places, he conducted his followers into the heart of Burgundy. At Annai le Duc he was oppoſed by the mareſchal de Coſſe, who had obtained the ſupreme command of the royal forces on the indiſpoſition of the duke of Anjou. The hugonots, without cannon, without ammunition, and ſcarcely amounting to four thouſand men, inſpired with the dauntleſs ſpirit of their leader, heſitated not to attack ten thouſand catholics, inured to war, and protected by a formidable train of artillery; their cavalry, compoſed of gentlemen, and commanded by princes, ſoon routed the adverſe ſquadrons of the mareſchal, and reſtraining their ardour prudently returned to the ſupport of their infantry. The admiral, content with this advantage, quitted the field, eluded the efforts of his antagoniſts, and menaced by his ſubſequent motions the tranquillity of the capital; when the welcome ſound of peace relieved the Pariſians from their fears, and the proteſtants from that diſtreſs which nothing but the high military talents of Coligni could have ſupported.

The articles of this new treaty were ſigned at St. Germain en Laye, and were as favourable to the reformed as their moſt zealous partizans could wiſh. The edicts in their favour were confirmed, they were reſtored to all their employments and dignities, and were permitted to retain poſſeſſion for two years of Rochelle, La Charitè, Montauban, and Coignac. Terms ſo highly advantageous might well excite the doubts of the moſt cautious, but the king himſelf affected ſo warm a diſpoſition to eſtabliſh tranquillity, and maintained ſo reſerved a countenance to the Guiſes, as effectually diſſipated all ſuſpicions, and entangled the proteſtants in the fatal net which the artful genius of Catherine had woven for their deſtruction.

Convinced at length of the impracticability of extirpating the calviniſts by open force, ſhe concealed under the moſt flattering appearances, the moſt perfidious deſigns; and Charles who ſtill regarded with implacable reſentment the attempt of the hugonots to ſurprize him at Meaux, too readily yielded his conſent to the dark and ſanguinary ſyſtem. Each day ſeemed to afford ſome new proof of his averſion to the Guiſes, and his reſpect for the reformed. To ſtrengthen the union of the two parties he propoſed the marriage of his ſiſter Margaret with the king of Navarre; he himſelf had before in vain offered to the queen of England; and ſoon after united himſelf to the archduchefs Elizabeth, daughter of the emperor Maximilian the Second; an amiable princeſs, who with the hand, obtained not the heart of her royal conſort, which had been long engaged to his miſtreſs the beautiful Mary Touchet.

A. D. 1571. 1572. France for two years was permitted to taſte the bleſſings of tranquillity; yet even during that interval the diſtruſt of the hugonots was excited by the myſterious death of the queen of Navarre, and public rumour attributed her fate to the poiſonous arts of Catherine. Her deceaſe ſcarce interrupted the preparations for the marriage of the princeſs Margaret with Henry of Navarre; for their union Gregory the Third had granted a diſpenſation; yet even this mark of the ſincerity of Charles did not entirely vanquiſh the ſuſpicions of Coligni, and to allure him from his retreat of Chatillon, a new artifice was adopted, and open hoſtilities were commenced againſt Philip of Spain, whoſe perſecuting ſpirit had compelled the reformed of the Netherlands already to erect the ſtandard of revolt.

To extend the glory of his country, to vindicate from oppreſſion the tenets of his religion, were the honourable objects of the admiral's ambition. He liſtened

liſtened with pleaſure to the offer of commanding the forces deſigned for Flanders; the remonſtrances of the Rochellers were vanquiſhed by the repreſentatives of Lewis of Naſſau, a zealous proteſtant, and who had been received by the king of France with uncommon diſtinction; and Coligni, overwhelmed by importunities, and yielding againſt his better reaſon, arrived at Paris, accompanied by a prodigious train of the hugonot nobility, and followed by the young king of Navarre.

Every teſtimony of the moſt reſpectful and cordial friendſhip was ſtudiouſly conferred on the calviniſt nobles, and their leader; the nuptials of the king of Navarre with the princeſs Margaret were ſolemnized with royal magnificence; thoſe of Henry prince of Condé with Mary of Cleves ſeemed deſigned to extinguiſh the enmity of the two families of Bourbon and Lorraine; and every thing beſpoke the ardent deſire of the king to maintain the public tranquillity. Yet amidſt theſe external demonſtrations of amity, Coligni was repeatedly warned that Catherine and her ſon nouriſhed ſome dark and fatal ſcheme of revenge; but with that greatneſs of mind that characterized him he replied, that he would rather ſuffer himſelf to be dragged through the ſtreets of Paris, than renew the horrors of a civil war and plunge his unhappy country into new calamities. The mareſchal de Montmorency, who inherited his father the conſtable's caution, but profeſſed the doctrines of the reformed, under pretence of indiſpoſition obtained leave to retire to his caſtle of Chantilli, and eſcaped the perfidious artifices of Catherine, and the deadly hatred of the houſe of Guiſe.

As a prelude to the fatal maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, it had been determined immediately to venture on the aſſaſſination of the admiral. As he ſlowly returned from the palace of the Louvre to his

own houſe, engaged in the peruſal of ſome papers, he was wounded by two balls; one broke the fore-finger of his right hand, the other lodged in his left arm near the elbow. Without betraying any emotion, he calmly pointed to the houſe whence the ſhot came, but the aſſaſſin had already eſcaped by a poſtern door, and Coligni was conveyed home by his mournful attendants; the king received the news with the moſt furious indignation, exclaiming with his uſual imprecations, "Shall I never be at peace? What always new troubles!" He inſtantly quitted the game at tennis at which he was engaged, and repaired to the admiral's apartment, whom he affected to conſole with profeſſions of regard and denunciations of vengeance.

It is probable that the ſuſpicions of Coligni were not allayed by the affected warmth of the king, and as ſoon as his health enabled him to ſupport the fatigue of a removal, that he would have quitted a perfidious court and an hoſtile capital. Charles and Catherine were both ſenſible that their diſſimulation could not avail them much longer, and they were apprized of the reſolution of the hugonots to avenge by arms the injuries of their chief. The apprehenſions of the admiral's eſcape quickened their determinations; and the king at length gave his conſent to involve the reformed in one promiſcuous carnage; at the ſame time adding with his cuſtomary oaths—"ſince it is to be done, take care that not "one eſcapes to reproach me;" the duke of Guiſe, as animated with a peculiar deteſtation of Coligni, whom he conſidered as his father's murderer, was appointed to direct the inhuman ſlaughter, and the ſignal was to be made by ſtriking the great bell of the palace.

At that dreadfull knell the work of death was begun, and humanity recoils from the horrors of the fatal night of St. Bartholomew; yet the reader may expect

expect amidſt the general carnage that ſome few moments ſhould be devoted to the fate of Coligni. He had long retired to reſt, when he was arouzed by the noiſe of the aſſaſſins who had ſurrounded his houſe. A German named Beſme entered his chamber, and the admiral apprehending his intentions, prepared to meet death with that fortitude which had ever diſtinguiſhed him. Incapable of reſiſtance from his late wounds, with an undiſmayed countenance, he had ſcarce uttered the words, "young "man, reſpect theſe grey hairs, nor ſtain them "with blood," when Beſme plunged his ſword into his boſom, and with his barbarous aſſociates threw the body into the court. The duke of Guiſe contemplated it in ſilence, but Henry, count d'Angouleſme, natural brother to Charles, ſpurned it with his foot, exclaiming, "Courage my friends, we "have begun well, let us finiſh in the ſame man-"ner."

During ſeveral days that the maſſacre was continued, above five thouſand proteſtants are ſuppoſed to have fallen victims to the religious fury of the catholics; among theſe the moſt illuſtrious were the count de la Rochefoucault, and Teligni, who had married the daughter of the admiral. The count de Montgomery, and the vidame of Chartres with near a hundred gentlemen who lodged to the ſouth of the river Seine eſcaped on horſeback half naked; they were purſued and overtaken by the duke of Guiſe, who cut in pieces the greateſt part of them; only the two chiefs with about ten of their followers reached the coaſt of Normandy, and thence croſſed over to England. The duke of Guiſe himſelf in his own palace preſerved above an hundred of the calviniſts with intent to attach them to his perſon; and Biron, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Henry the Fourth, ſheltered in the arſenal, and protected by his cannon thoſe

who

who were ſo fortunate as to be ranked among his friends and adherents.

Henry king of Navarre, who had been but ſix days married to the princeſs Margaret, and his couſin the young prince of Condé, were exempted from the general deſtruction, and brought before Charles, who with menaces and imprecations commanded them to abjure their religion. The king of Navarre obeyed, but the prince ſtill heſitating, Charles in a tranſport of rage exclaimed, "death, maſs, or the baſtile!" This violence vanquiſhed the fortitude of the prince; who apparently reconciled himſelf to the eſtabliſhed church, and received abſolution in the pope's name from his uncle the cardinal of Bourbon.

The ſame orders which had deluged the capital with blood, were but too faithfully obeyed in the cities of Lyons, Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angers, and Thouloufe; but in Provence the reformed were preſerved by Claude de Savoye, count de Tende; De Gorges in Dauphiné, the mareſchal de Matignon in Alençon, and the biſhop of Lizieux in his dioceſe, all extended to them their protection; but above the reſt the anſwer of viſcount Ortez to his ſovereign has juſtly been celebrated; "Sire, I have "received the letter enjoining to the inhabitants of "Bayonne a maſſacre of the hugonots; your ma-"jeſty has many faithful ſervants in this city, but "not one executioner." Yet theſe inſtances of generous humanity were but few, and it is ſuppoſed throughout the kingdom of France that twenty-five thouſand proteſtants periſhed.

A. D. 1573. If the conduct of the king was marked with an honourable reluctance previous to the commencement of the maſſacre, during the execution of it he not only enjoyed the bloody ſpectacle from the windows of his palace, but is ſaid himſelf repeatedly to have fired upon the miſerable fugitives.

fugitives. But he was ſoon taught how difficult it is to eradicate the principles of religion; and perſecution ſeemed only to have confirmed the zeal of the proteſtants. Rochelle, the grand aſylum of calviniſm, ſhut its gates againſt the royal forces, commanded by the duke of Anjou. It reſiſted with firmneſs the repeated attacks of the beſiegers; and the mind of Charles was juſtly filled with anxiety for the event, when he underſtood that his youngeſt brother Francis duke of Alençon, bold, turbulent, and faithleſs, had united himſelf in a ſecret league with the king of Navarre. He now began to awake from that guilty delirium into which the counſels of his mother had plunged him; and while he ſurveyed the dreary proſpect around him, he found the infidelity of his ſubjects vindicated by his own treacherous example. He was equally jealous of the duke of Anjou, as he was diſtruſtful of the duke of Alençon, and he received with ſatisfaction the envoys which called the former to the throne of Poland. The ſiege of Rochelle had been but little advanced, the hopes of the proteſtants throughout the kingdom were once more revived, and Charles embraced the pretence afforded by the elevation of his brother, to conclude a new treaty with the reformed, ſcarce leſs favourable to them than the three preceding.

But the duke of Anjou regarded his election to the crown of Poland in a very different light from Charles; he plainly perceived the health of that monarch daily declined, and he was unwilling to hazard his ſucceſſion to the fertile realm of France, to reign over a barbarous and turbulent people. His unwillingneſs to depart was increaſed by a violent affection which he had conceived for Mary of Cleves, the conſort of the prince of Condé. His delay at length arouſed the ſuſpicion and anger of the king, and he was conſtrained to ſet out with the

myſterious

myſterious aſſurance of Catherine that his abſence ſhould not be long.

A. D. 1574. The ſmall remnant of the reign of Charles was afflicted by civil commotion, and fraternal diſcord. The confederacy of the duke of Alençon with the king of Navarre, reſtored the courage of the hugonots; and la Noue and Montgomery reaſſembled their diſmayed and ſcattered party. But the meaſures of Francis and Henry were detected by the vigilance of Catherine, their perſons were cloſely guarded, and they were ſeverely examined in the preſence of the king himſelf. The mareſchal de Montmorenci and de Coſſe were arreſted as their accomplices; and the count de Montgomery, inveſted in Domfront was compelled to ſurrender by the mareſchal de Matignon. On his capitulation he had ſtipulated for his life; but Catherine, after the death of Charles, paid little regard to the convention, and ſacrificed him to the memory of Henry the Second.

The detection of ſecret conſpiracy, the defeat of open revolt, could not check the progreſs of diſeaſe which with rapid ſtrides preſſed towards the diſſolution of the king. Ever ſince the fatal maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, his countenance had been marked with a ſettled gloom, and his mind had been torn by contending paſſions. He had been deeply affected by the late intrigues of his brother the duke of Alençon and the king of Navarre; and though he hated the hugonots, he equally dreaded the aſpiring families of Guiſe and Montmorency. Awakened to the ignominy with which the perfidious counſels of Catherine had obſcured his fame, he was determined in future to reign independent and alone; but theſe reſolutions were unfortunately adopted too late for the tranquillity of France; every day proclaimed ſome new and fatal ſymptom. A ſlow and internal fever exhauſted his ſtrength, and blood

oozed even out of the pores of his ſkin. A diſorder ſo ſtrange and unprecedented, recalled to the minds of the people the ſuſpicious expreſſions of Catherine when ſhe parted with her favourite ſon the king of Poland. But from this crime it is more than probable the queen-mother was free, and the fate of Charles may be aſcribed to that violence which was diſplayed, in his converſation, his manners, and his exerciſes. His conſtitution, however ſtrong, was unequal to the conſtant exertion; and in the twenty-third year of his age he yielded up his life and crown. His laſt hours were employed with dignity and compoſure; he recommended to thoſe around him to preſerve their fidelity to the king of Poland; he obliged all preſent to take an oath of obedience to Catherine during the abſence of Henry; and he expired at the moment when his penetration, his judgment, and his experience, might have remedied the evils in which the evil genius of his mother had involved his country.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXV.

Regency of the Queen Mother — Acceſſion of Henry the Third — War with the Hugonots — Expedition of the Duke of Anjou in Flanders — His Attempt on Cambray — His Retreat and Death — Seditious Practices of the League — Henry Compelled to leave Paris — Aſſaſſination of the Duke and Cardinal of Guiſe — Death of Catherine of Medicis — The King Beſieges Paris — Is Aſſaſſinated by a Jacobin Friar.

A. D. 1574. CHARLES by his widow Elizabeth left only one daughter who ſurvived him about four years, and Elizabeth herſelf retired into the dominions of her father the emperor Maximilian; while Catherine aſſuming the power which the deceaſed monarch's laſt words had conferred on her, diſplayed thoſe abilities which aroſe in proportion to the emergency of her ſituation. She cloſely guarded the king of Navarre, and the duke of Alençon, with the mareſchals de Montmorenci and de Coſſe; ſhe negociated a truce with the hugonots, raiſed new levies among the Swiſs and Germans, diſpatched repeated meſſengers to haſten the journey of the king of Poland, and impatient of delay ſet out for the city of Lyons to meet him.

On receiving the welcome news of his brother's deceaſe, Henry ſecretly quitted Poland, and haſtily fled from the throne to which he had been ſo lately elected; before the tidings were publickly known, or his deſigns could be impeded, he reached the frontiers of Germany, and was entertained at Vienna by Maximilian with imperial magnificence; thence he directed his courſe through the territories of the Venetians, reſted a few days in Turin; and in a little

tle more than three months from the death of Charles, embraced his mother at Lyons, and received from her hands the reins of government.

In his early youth Henry had diſplayed the promiſe of uncommon abilities; his manners were inſinuating, his perſon graceful, his countenance beautiful; and his people regarded with the moſt partial expectations the hero of Jarnac and Montcontour; but the meridian of his fame was ill calculated to correſpond with the luſtre of his dawning glory, and his ſubjects ſoon diſcerned a monarch, irreſolute, inconſtant, indolent, and voluptuous; mingling devotion with ſenſuality, and alternately governed by the licentious minions of his court, or by bigotted prieſts who aſſumed the direction of his conſcience.

Though he releaſed from confinement the king of Navarre, and his brother the duke of Alençon, he ſtill continued to obſerve their ſteps with the moſt vigilant jealouſy; but the cares of government were only conſidered ſecondary to thoſe of love; his paſſion for the princeſs of Condé blazed forth with increaſe of violence. Reaſon, decency, and honour, in vain oppoſed its progreſs, and Henry was already determined to diſſolve the marriage of Mary with the prince of Condé, and to raiſe her to his bed and throne, when his deſigns were broken by the unexpected ſtroke of death; that princeſs, in the pride of beauty and the flower of youth ſuddenly expired; while the royal lover, devoting himſelf to all the luxury of ſorrow, atteſted the ardour of his affection, by remaining ſeveral days inſenſible to the language of conſolation, and obſtinately rejecting whatever food was offered him.

From this trance he was awakened by the repreſentations of his miniſters, and the firſt act of ſovereignty was to reſtore to the duke of Savoy ſeveral places which the French ſtill retained in Piedmont. But the impolicy of this meaſure was forgotten in the

ſuperior

ſuperior imprudence of his reſolution to proſecute the war againſt the hugonots. The cardinal of Lorrain, whoſe fatal counſels influenced the irreſolute mind of Henry, ſurvived not to behold the ſcenes of ſlaughter which he had planned; and mareſchal d' Amville, informed of the royal determination, boldly erected the ſtandard of oppoſition, and ſupported in Languedoc the principles of calviniſm. The prince of Condé previous to the death of Charles the Ninth, had eſcaped to Straſburgh, and abjured the catholic religion; he now returned to join the forces of the confederates; while the duke of Alençon, inflamed by wild ambition, deſerted the court and armed againſt his brother.

A. D. 1575. Amidſt the ſtorms which threatened his throne on every ſide, the king was crowned at Rheims by the cardinal of Guiſe, and the next day beſtowed his hand on Louiſa, daughter to the count of Vaudemont, of the houſe of Lorrain. The war with the proteſtants was maintained with various ſucceſs. The duke of Guiſe acquired freſh laurels by the defeat of a conſiderable body of German auxiliaries; but Leſdiguieres eſtabliſhed himſelf in Dauphiné, and the queen-mother, alarmed at his progreſs, releaſed the mareſchals de Coſſe and Montmorency, and prevailed on the latter to negociate a truce. It was concluded for ſix months only, and the towns of Niort, Saumur, la Charité, Meſieres, St. Jean d' Angeli, and Coignac, were ſurrendered to the reformed, as pledges for their ſecurity; while Henry endured a freſh mortification from abroad, by the determination of the Poliſh diet to chuſe a new ſovereign, and to place the crown on the head of the prince of Tranſylvania.

A. D. 1576. In the late commotions, the king of Navarre had affected to remain an unconcerned ſpectator; he now ſeized the favourable moment of flight, eſcaped to his government of Guienne,

Guienne, and openly profeſſed again the tenets of calviniſm; the duke of Alençon again reſumed his intrigues; the prince of Condé appeared at the head of a numerous body of Germans; and the boundleſs ambition of the duke of Guiſe, who commanded the catholic army, was equally formidable to Henry with the daring deſigns of the confederates. Thus alike fearful of victory, or defeat, he ſubſcribed a peace, by which the reformed were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion, with the reſtriction of not preaching within two miles of Paris, or any place where the court reſided; chambers of juſtice were erected in every parliament, conſiſting of equal numbers of catholics and proteſtants, the memory of Coligni and his aſſociates were honourably reſtored, and the ſafety of the hugonots, was confirmed by the ceſſion of eight fortified towns.

To gratify his brother, the king had ceded to him the countries of Anjou, Touraine, and Berri, with the title of duke of the former; the prince of Condé was to have the government of Picardy; Leſdiguieres and d'Amville in Dauphiné and Languedoc aſſumed an haughty independency; the Germans, raiſed by prince Caſimir, were permitted to live at free quarters in the biſhopric of Langres; and Henry beheld, with indignation, great part of his dominions parcelled out amongſt his proteſtant ſubjects, and their formidable allies; but a more fatal blow to his authority originated in the jealouſy of the catholics, who, irritated by the late favourable conditions granted to the calviniſts, formed themſelves into a league, and choſe as their protectors the pope and the king of Spain. Henry, though ſenſible of the melancholy degradation, by the advice of his miniſters, declared himſelf the head of this aſſociation, and by the importunities of the leaguers was ſoon compelled to reſcind the late edict of pacification.

While

A. D. 1577. 1579. While the king was immerſed in ſenſual enjoyments, his ſubjects experienced all the miſeries which attend a weak and divided adminiſtration. The religious enmity of the catholics and hugonots was repeatedly ſuſpended by treaties, which as they were made without faith, were broken without heſitation. But amidſt the ſcenes of dark intrigue and open violence, which for three ſucceſſive years diſhonoured and afflicted the kingdom, the virtues of the young king of Navarre attained to maturity, and burſt forth with an increaſe of luſtre which eclipſed his rivals, dazzled the eyes of the beholders, and confirmed the hopes of the calviniſts, whoſe religious tenets he profeſſed. In the treaty of Nerac, he had baffled the artifices of the wily Catherine; and on the ſubſequent violation of that treaty, he ſurpriſed the town of Cahors; forced open the gates; and though the govornor, with undaunted courage, maintained, during five days, an obſtinate and unprecedented conflict in the ſtreets, the valour of the king of Navarre triumphed over every difficulty, and planted at laſt the banners of his party on the ramparts of that city.

It was not alone in France that religious rancour had kindled the flames of civil war. The gloomy light was beheld with horror through the Netherlands; and the unrelenting Philip, ſeconded by the zeal of the duke of Alva, had involved myriads of his Flemiſh ſubjects in exile, torture, and death. The illuſtrious birth and memorable ſervices of the counts Egmont and Horn could not preſerve them from an ignominious fate; and the prince of Orange only eſcaped the perfidy of his ſovereign, and the ſtroke of the executioner, by an haſty retreat into Germany. He ſoon returned to arouſe his countrymen to the defence of their civil and religious freedom; and the Flemings, oppreſſed by the ſuperior forces of Spain, ſought new reſources in foreign alliances,

liances, and addreſſed themſelves to the duke of Anjou. The ſovereignty of the Low Countries was too ſplendid an allurement to be reſiſted by a prince vain, raſh, and ambitious; his ardour, at the ſame time, was inflamed by the hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth; and the queen of England, deſirous of reſiſting the tyranny of Philip, yet cautious of committing herſelf to open hoſtilities, embraced the opportunity, by the moſt flattering declarations, of exciting the duke of Anjou to the defence of the Flemings.

But before the duke could embark in this enterpriſe, it was firſt neceſſary that he ſhould at leaſt ſuſpend, if not extinguiſh, the flames of civil diſcord which raged through the kingdom of France. His proffered mediation was readily accepted by Henry, who by alternately profeſſing to patroniſe each, had loſt the confidence of both factions, and beheld his catholic ſubjects range themſelves under the banners of the duke of Guiſe, while the proteſtants avowed their open attachment to the king of Navarre. Both had exhauſted their ſtrength in various efforts, without either acquiring an aſcendancy; and a treaty was quickly concluded, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prince of Condé, which confirmed the former edict of pacification, and left the proteſtants in poſſeſſion of the cautionary towns for ſix years. A. D. 1560.

The duke of Anjou had ſcarce unfurled his ſtandard, before it was joined by the flower of French chivalry; and at the head of twelve thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, he marched to the relief of Cambray, which was inveſted by the army of Philip, commanded by the prince of Parma; that prudent general retired at the approach of this new antagoniſt, who entered Cambray in triumph, was ſaluted by the inhabitants as the protector of their freedom; and after reducing Chateau Cambreſis, A. D. 1581.

embarked

embarked for England, to ſolicit the hand and ſupport of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1582. 1583. From that queen he received the moſt gracious reception; and though her prudence afterwards retracted the promiſes which ſhe had been betrayed into by his flattery and importunity, ſhe furniſhed him with a conſiderable ſum of money, and a numerous fleet, to ſecond his enterpriſes in the Low Countries. He was reinforced from France by the Duke de Montpenſier, and the mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſeven or eight thouſand men; but his own caprice and perfidy diſappointed the ambitious hopes which he had entertained; and he reſolved, by making himſelf maſter of thoſe towns into which his troops had been admitted, to oppreſs that liberty which he was ſummoned to protect. His deſigns could not eſcape the penetrating eye of the prince of Orange; his treacherous attempt on Antwerp was repulſed by the valour of the inhabitants; the gates of the other cities were ſhut againſt him; his troops were aſſailed by famine and diſeaſe; and though the prudence of the prince of Orange affected an apparent reconciliation, the duke of Anjou, with a broken conſtitution, retired to France, deſerted by his friends, and derided by his enemies.

A. D. 1584. Though Henry ever afterwards regarded with contempt the abilities and deſigns of his brother, his own conduct was equally deſtitute of decency, policy, or judgment. He beſtowed on his favourite, the duke of Joyeuſe, the ſupreme direction of affairs, and raiſed him to an alliance with the throne, by uniting him in marriage to the ſiſter of his queen. Balls, banquets, and religious proceſſions, conſumed thoſe treaſures which might have been ſucceſsfully employed in repreſſing the riſing influence of the king of Navarre and the duke of Guiſe; the latter by his intrigues had drawn from

from his retirement the duke of Anjou, who tranſported with the hopes of retrieving his loſt reputation, entered into the views, and engaged to ſecond the plans of the houſe of Lorrain; but ever fickle and capricious, he ſoon repented of this new enterpriſe; he flew to court, proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the king, and revealed the conſpiracy in which he had embarked. Henry received him with tenderneſs, and diſmiſſed him to Chateau Thierri, where a rapid decline ſoon terminated a life, ſtained by levity, perfidy, and proſligacy.

The death of the duke of Anjou diſconcerted, but did not extinguiſh, the daring projects of the houſe of Lorrain. The three brothers, the duke and cardinal of Guiſe, with the duke of Mayenne, openly placed themſelves at the head of the league, and inflaming the people with the dread of an heretic ſovereign, avowed their reſolution to transfer the pretenſions of the king of Navarre to his uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon; a zealous papiſt, but who, incapable from age and weakneſs of holding the reins of government himſelf, was to deliver them into the hands of the duke of Guiſe. Henry was ſoon apprized of the intentions of the confederates; by the duke d'Epernon, who ſhared his favour with Joyeuſe, he preſſed the king of Navarre to reconcile himſelf to the eſtabliſhed church, and as next prince of the blood, to remove the only objection that could be urged againſt his ſucceſſion; but the king of Navarre was deaf to the arguments of d'Epernon; and though his friend Pleſſis Mornay, by publiſhing his ſentiments, confirmed the hugonots in their opinion of his conſtancy, he unfortunately afforded a plauſible pretence to the league, who openly reviled their ſovereign as treating with heretics, and entered into a cloſe alliance with Spain; by a treaty, ſigned at Joinville, they agreed, in return for certain pecuniary ſupplies, on the death of Henry the Third, to

acknowledge the cardinal of Bourbon as king, to enforce the council of Trent through France, and to reduce Cambray to the yoke of Philip.

The court of Rome entered into the views of the confederates, and ſanctioned by her holy authority the ambition of the Guiſes. The impatience of their new ally the king of Spain, compelled them to take the field before they had aſſembled their adherents; with a feeble army, ſcarce exceeding five thouſand men, the duke of Guiſe occupied Verdun, but was repulſed from Metz by the vigilance of the duke d'Epernon. The loyalty of the mareſchal Matignon preſerved Bourdeaux; and though Marſeilles was ſurpriſed by the league, it was next day recovered by the arms of the loyaliſts. Had Henry at this moment reſumed that ſpirit which he formerly diſplayed in the fields of Jarnac and Montcontour, he might have eſtabliſhed his tottering throne, and chaſed the duke of Guiſe from his dominions: but alternately the ſlave of pleaſure and ſuperſtition, he was no longer capable of any great or arduous enterpriſe; he concluded a peace on the moſt diſhonourable terms, with thoſe very rebels whoſe preſumption he might have chaſtiſed; and agreed, at the imperious voice of the duke of Guiſe, to compel the proteſtants to reſtore the cautionary towns that they had received, to annul all edicts in their favour, and to devote his troops and treaſures to the ſervice of the league.

A. D. 1585. With terror and aſtoniſhment the king of Navarre heard the fatal conditions, which menaced his own ſucceſſion, and placed an empty ſceptre in the hand of Henry. That monarch ſoon experienced that the moſt fatal event of war ought to have been preferred to an ignominious peace. His capital could no longer be conſidered as his own. A council of ſixteen citizens of Paris, nominated by the influence of the duke of Guiſe, inſulted

ſulted their ſovereign, and filled the ſtreets with confuſion. A gleam of hope broke in from the court of Rome; Sixtus the Fifth, who had ſucceeded to the apoſtolical throne, launched the ſpiritual thunders on the heads of thoſe who had preſumed to arm againſt the crown. But governed only by a temper turbulent and aſſuming, he increaſed the public anarchy by excommunicating ſoon after the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé, and all their adherents. The proteſtants haraſſed and oppreſſed ſought ſhelter in Guienne and Dauphiné; and the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, embraced as their only means of ſafety the calamities of war. The latter after having in vain attempted to relieve Angiers, was forced to diſperſe his troops, and with difficulty eſcaped to England.

Five armies levied in the name of the king threatened with their numbers to overwhelm the ſmall band of proteſtants. A. D. 1586. The moſt numerous was entruſted to the command of the duke of Mayenne, who entered Guienne, and haraſſed his forces in the fruitleſs purſuit of the king of Navarre; three more led by D'Epernon, Joyeuſe, and Matignon, were equally unſucceſsful. But the duke of Guiſe extended his fame and conqueſts in Champagne and Burgundy, and confirmed by his exploits the confidence of the league. Yet the people loudly murmured at the new taxes which were impoſed for the continuance of the war. The return of the prince of Condé with troops and money from England, and his ſubſequent ſucceſs in Saintonge, allowed them not to expect a ſpeedy concluſion of it; the mareſchal Biron indeed recovered ſeveral places from the reformed, but he maintained at the ſame time an auſtere reſerve towards the leaguers; while d'Amville, who by the death of his brother was become mareſchal Montmorency, aſſumed in Languedoc the tone of independence, declared himſelf the

head of a third party attached to the ancient conſtitution in church and ſtate, and while he ſtiled the proteſtants heretics, he treated the leaguers as rebels.

A. D 1587. Each day diminiſhed the remnant of authority which the king had continued to poſſeſs, and increaſed the difficulties of his ſituation; on one ſide the Germans and Swiſs prepared to pour their forces into France and join the troops of the king of Navarre; on the other Henry equally dreaded the leaders of the league, and conſidered the duke of Guiſe as his moſt formidable enemy. His favourite Joyeuſe, accompanied by the flower of the French nobility, was defeated and ſlain at Coutras. In that action, which firſt crowned the hugonots with deciſive victory, the king of Navarre diſplayed all the qualities which diſtinguiſh the ſoldier and the general; but his inability to ſupport his troops prevented him from improving his advantage; he was compelled to diſband his forces; and with the impatience of a lover, he haſtened to lay his laurels at the feet of his miſtreſs.

The prince of Condé ſoon after expired at St. Jean d'Angeli of poiſon; a crime which was imputed to his conſort, but whoſe innocence was vindicated by a public trial.

The Germans and Swiſs, hopeleſs of joining their allies, fixed and received the price of their retreat; and the inhabitants of Paris, delivered from the dread of foreign invaſion, determined to reduce Henry to the moſt mortifying inſignificance, and to veſt the ſole adminiſtration in the hands of the duke of Guiſe. In purſuance of this deſign, they preſented a memorial, in which they required the king to declare openly for the league, to revive the council of Trent, to eſtabliſh the inquiſition, and to extirpate hereſy. Though Henry could not entirely repreſs his indignation, he yet promiſed to conſider their requeſts.

But

But alarmed at their inſolence, he obſerved with a vigilant eye their conduct, and meditated vindicating his dignity by ſurpriſing the whole council at once; from this deſign he was diſſuaded by Catherine; and his imprudence in ſeverely reproaching and boldly menacing a faction which he thus ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, ſerved only to inflame the enmity of the leaguers, who now ſummoned the duke of Guiſe to their ſupport.

Contrary to the expreſs command of his ſovereign, the duke of Guiſe entered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the citizens, and demanded an audience of the king. Incapable of refuſing, yet deeply wounded by repeated inſults, Henry recalled his former reſolution, and declared that the moment of interview ſhould be the laſt of his preſumptuous ſubject's. The tears and remonſtrances of Catherine again interpoſed. The indignant features of the monarch proclaimed the conflict within; he ſternly accuſed the duke of ſedition, treaſon, and the moſt daring deſigns againſt his life and throne. The duke of Guiſe, ſenſible of his danger, endeavoured to diſarm his rage by ſubmiſſion; he was ſuffered to retire in ſecurity; but convinced of the hazard that he had incurred, and hopeleſs of any ſincere reconciliation, he immediately determined on the moſt deciſive meaſures. A. D. 1588.

The angry countenances of the Pariſians betrayed the ſecret emotions of their minds, and foretold the approaching tempeſt. Six thouſand of the troops, whoſe fidelity Henry could depend upon, had received orders to enter the capital. Their ready appearance was the ſignal of general inſurrection; the citizens by myriads quitted the inſtruments of their peaceful occupations to aſſume the weapons of war. The guards were aſtoniſhed, overwhelmed, and diſarmed; but amidſt the tumult, while Catherine engaged the duke in an artful negociation, Henry quitted

quitted his palace, eſcaped through the garden of the Thuilleries, and ſurveying his capital with the eye of offended majeſty, declared he would never enter it again but through a breach in the walls.

From Paris Henry retired to Chartres, and publicly appealed to his ſubjects from the inſolence of the duke of Guiſe, and the tyranny of the leaguers. He was anſwered by manifeſtos which breathed the ſpirit of ſedition inflamed by religious rancour. Yet while the mutual accuſations of both parties ſeemed to allow no other deciſion but that of arms, the mediation of Catherine was again accepted, and Henry was once more in appearance reconciled to a ſubject whom he hated and feared. The firmneſs of the parliament, and the levity of the Pariſians, had influenced the duke of Guiſe to liſten to terms of accommodation; while Henry was impreſſed with dread by the formidable preparations of the king of Spain. By the articles of the new treaty, the duke of Guiſe was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the French armies; the cardinal of Bourbon was declared firſt prince of the blood; and the ſevereſt penalties were denounced againſt the ſubjects of France who had preſumed to deviate from the ancient and eſtabliſhed church. On the concluſion of the treaty, the duke of Guiſe waited on the king at Chartres, and was received with marks of reſpect and confidence that ſeemed to proclaim the moſt ſincere reconciliation.

Yet amidſt theſe public teſtimonies of regard, Henry continued to nouriſh a latent thirſt of vengeance, and was determined to inflict on the duke the juſt but tardy puniſhment of his preſumption. Exaſperated at the ignominious conceſſions into which the counſels of his mother had betrayed him, he for ever excluded her from his confidence. He aſſembled the ſtates at Blois; and though he beheld himſelf ſurrounded by the partizans of the league, he addreſſed

addreſſed them in a bold and animated ſpeech, diſplayed the diſtreſs to which he was reduced, and glanced at the ſeditious practices of the houſe of Lorrain. Language ſo unexpected ſtruck the duke of Guiſe with aſtoniſhment; he remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the inſinuations it conveyed, and Henry was compelled, before it was circulated abroad, to ſoften the moſt obnoxious paſſages.

To this mortification ſucceeded intelligence the moſt alarming: he was informed that his aſpiring ſubject held a ſecret and treaſonable correſpondence with the duke of Savoy; he perceived that the ſtates were determined to declare the king of Navarre by name incapable of the ſucceſſion; and that his own repoſe, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, could only be eſtabliſhed by the death of the duke of Guiſe. He ſummoned in this exigency the few friends in whoſe fidelity and ſecrecy he could truſt; the number and quality of them convey to us ſome idea of his forlorn ſituation, and the cabinet council of the ſovereign of France was compoſed of the mareſchal d'Aumont, Nicholas and Lewis d'Angennes, and Beauvais Nangis. The firſt adviſed the king to arreſt the princes of Lorrain; but Henry was ſenſible that ſuch an attempt would only ſerve to inflame ſubjects too powerful for reſtraint; and the reſt concurred in encouraging him to extinguiſh the ambition of the duke of Guiſe with his life.

In the execution of this deſign, Henry diſplayed the ſame calm diſſimulation as had characteriſed his brother Charles; Crillon, who commanded the royal guards, and who was celebrated for his perſonal courage, was firſt applied to ſtrike the fatal blow; but with a dignity of mind equal to his valour, he replied that his rank and ſervices allowed him not to play the executioner. "I will challenge "the duke," continued he, "and if permitted, en"deavour to kill him fairly with my ſword." The

king received his refuſal with a good grace; and only recommended to him ſecrecy. He now fixed on Loignac, the firſt gentleman of his bed-chamber, who readily accepted the commiſſion, and was joined by a ſelect number of Gaſcons whom the duke d'Epernon had introduced for the immediate protection of the king's perſon.

Yet the adherents of the duke of Guiſe, ever anxious and vigilant, were ſoon apprized that ſome dark deſign was meditated, and their leader was repeatedly admoniſhed that he ſtood on the edge of a precipice. But relying on that fortune which hitherto had invariably attended him, and impreſſed with a ſtrong but miſtaken idea of Henry's timidity, he determined to attend the council he was ſummoned to. As he entered the cabinet of the king, through a long and gloomy paſſage, he was aſſailed by the daggers of Loignac and his aſſociates. Six poignards at once were plunged in his boſom; and exclaiming with a deep groan, "My God, have mercy on me!" he fell breathleſs on the floor.

Thus periſhed Henry duke of Guiſe the victim of his own inordinate ambition. Though his talents appear not to have equalled thoſe of his father, his courage, magnanimity, and inſinuating addreſs endeared him to the citizens of Paris, over whom his influence was uncontrouled. His brother the cardinal of Guiſe, more violent, but leſs enterpriſing, was involved in his deſtruction; and Henry the moment that he was informed of the fate of the former, paſſed into the apartment of the queen-mother, and acquainting her with the event, added, "I am now "a king, madam, and have no competitor, for the "duke of Guiſe is no more." Catherine, without blaming or commending the action, only coldly aſked, if he had conſidered the conſequences.

A. D. 1589. That princeſs had been for ſome time confined to her bed by a ſevere indiſpoſition; accuſtomed to the ſupreme direction of affairs, her

her haughty temper could ill brook the reſerve that for ſome time the king had maintained towards her. The pangs of diſeaſe were rendered more intolerable by the agitation of her mind. As her end approached, her eyes were opened to a juſt ſenſe of the inſidious policy which ſhe had ſo long and ſo fatally purſued; in her laſt moments ſhe exhorted Henry to reconcile himſelf to the princes of his blood, particularly the king of Navarre, whoſe ſincerity ſhe declared ſhe had conſtantly experienced; and to reſtore the tranquillity of France, by allowing the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion. In her ſeventieth year ſhe ſunk into the grave, and eſcaped by a timely death beholding the deſtruction of her laſt and favourite ſon.

The king was ſoon convinced how neceſſary it was for him to adopt the dying counſels of Catherine. On the fate of the Guiſes, the crowd that had attended him to Blois haſtily diſperſed; the multitude abhorred him, the majority of his nobles were combined againſt him, his favourites on whom he had profuſely laviſhed his treaſures deſerted him, and the clergy whom he had blindly reverenced publicly reviled him. All zealous catholics were armed againſt him; the citizens of his capital rejected his authority, and choſe the duke of Aumale as their governor; the doctors of the Sorbonne openly abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance; and the council of union, compoſed of forty members, aſſuming a ſovereign power, conſtituted the duke of Mayenne, brother to the late duke of Guiſe, lieutenant-general of the ſtate royal and crown of France; a dignity pompous, abſurd, and before unknown; and their zeal would have extended to him the title of king, had not his caution induced him to decline the dangerous pre-eminence. Rouen and the greateſt part of Normandy declared for the league; Lyons, Thouloufe, Marſeilles, Arles, and Toulon, with the

provinces

provinces of Brittany and Auvergne, embraced the ſame party; the Spaniſh ambaſſador repaired to Paris, and nouriſhed by his gold the factious councils of the capital; while pope Sixtus the Fifth fulminated his thunders againſt the aſſaſſins of the duke of Guiſe, and involved the king in the ſentence of excommunication.

While Henry forlorn and deſponding contemplated the gloomy and diſtracted proſpect before him, a ray of hope broke in from the honourable and diſintereſted attachment of the princes of the blood; theſe haſtened to devote to his ſervice their lives and fortunes; and their example was followed by the dukes d'Epernon and Nevers, and the mareſchal Montmorency; a reconciliation was effected between the kings of France and Navarre; and the former inveſted in Tours by the duke of Mayenne, after defending the ſuburbs with the ſame gallantry as he had diſplayed in early life, was relieved by the latter, who preſſed forwards with his troops to his aſſiſtance, and diſdained when he joined the royal ſtandard to extort from the neceſſities of the king any conditions for his own advantage. Large levies were diligently raiſed in Switzerland and Germany; yet the mind of Henry, amidſt the hope of returning fortune, ſeemed continually oppreſſed by the ſpiritual cenſures of the court of Rome; and it required the utmoſt addreſs of the king of Navarre to animate his drooping ſpirits; "Let us, Sire," ſaid that prince with his uſual vivacity, "march to Paris, and if we are victorious, we ſhall be eaſily abſolved." The counſel was approved; their ſuperior forces, joined by the Swiſs and Germans, ſwept the revolted towns in their progreſs; and ſwelled by ſucceſs to near forty thouſand men, on the laſt of July inveſted the capital of France.

The duke of Mayenne, with four thouſand regular ſoldiers, endeavoured to confirm the courage and conſtancy

conſtancy of the inhabitants; but Henry urged the ſiege with inceſſant ardour; within the walls the royaliſts were ſtill numerous; and Paris muſt ſoon have been reduced to acknowledge the authority of her ſovereign, had not the puniſhment which her ſeditious and turbulent citizens had ſo long provoked been averted by the deadly dagger of aſſaſſination. James Clement, a jacobin friar, and native of Sens, of ſtrong paſſions but weak intellects, had eagerly liſtened to the treaſonable and daring diſcourſes which the popular preachers of the league daily thundered from their pulpits. A diſpoſition, naturally gloomy and fanatical, was enflamed to deſperation by theſe intemperate harangues; and either impelled by that ſanguinary ſuperſtition that ſtrongly marks the times, or prompted by perſons of ſuperior rank, who viewed in the return of Henry their own deſtruction, he determined by one fatal ſtroke to extinguiſh the enemy of the pope, and of the catholic religion. With a paſſport procured under falſe pretences from the count de St. Brienne, one of the king's generals then a priſoner, and a letter forged from the preſident Harlay, who at that time was confined in the Baſtile, he ſet out from Paris for St. Cloud, the royal quarters; on the road he met the attorney general, and informing him that he had ſome important intelligence to communicate to the king in perſon, he was entertained by that officer at his houſe, who alſo engaged to procure him an audience of Henry.

The next morning he was accordingly introduced to the king, to whom he preſented his letters, but while Henry was attentively occupied in the peruſal of them, Clement ſuddenly plunged a knife, that he had concealed in his ſleeve, in the bowels of his unhappy ſovereign. The wounded monarch inſtantly drew it out, and twice ſtruck with it the aſſaſſin; the attorney general with a blow of his ſword extended

tended him on the floor; and the imprudent zeal of two of the royal guards immediately diſpatched him.

Henry at firſt had flattered himſelf that his wound was not mortal, but frequent faintings ſoon convinced him of his approaching end, and he prepared to meet it with a fortitude and compoſure worthy of his high ſituation. He ſummoned to his preſence the king of Navarre, whom he tenderly embraced and declared his lawful ſucceſſor; he exhorted the nobility to acknowledge and ſupport their new ſovereign; and expired the next morning in the ſixteenth year of his reign and the thirty-ninth of his age. In him was finally extinguiſhed the race of Valois; and his widow Louiſa, of the houſe of Lorrain, after lamenting the untimely fate of her conſort, whoſe tenderneſs ſhe had invariably experienced, retired amidſt the diſtractions of her bleeding country to linger through a life of twelve years of blameleſs obſcurity.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Acceſſion of Henry the Fourth, the firſt King of the houſe of Bourbon—State of England and Spain—Conduct of the Duke of Mayenne—Battle of Yvri—Siege of Paris—March of the Prince of Parma—Abolition of the Council of Sixteen—Siege of Rouen—Relieved by the Prince of Parma—His retreat from Caudbec—His death—Negociation between the King of Spain and the league—Converſion of Henry the Fourth to the Catholic faith.

BY the death of Henry the Third, the ſceptre of France was transferred from the houſe of Valois to that of Bourbon, and placed in the hand of Henry the Fourth, the firſt monarch of that family. The religious commotions which ſo long had agitated France, had afflicted alſo great part of Europe. The prudence of Elizabeth had indeed ſecured the internal tranquillity of England; but the tempeſt had raged with redoubled violence in Scotland; the amiable but unfortunate Mary, who had ſought ſhelter in Britain from the fury of a rude, haughty, and turbulent people, inflamed with a ſanguinary zeal for the doctrines of calviniſm, had after the form of a ſolemn trial, periſhed on the ſcaffold the victim of the female jealouſy of Elizabeth. To avenge her death, the king of Spain filled his ports with naval preparations; but his fleet, which from the ſize of the ſhips, and the ample manner in which they were equipped, obtained the name of the *Invincible Armada*, was defeated by the lighter veſſels and ſuperior dexterity of the Engliſh; and the remnant of an armament, on which the treaſures of the Indies and America had been profuſely laviſhed, ſhattered

ſhattered by the winds and waves, and purſued by the triumphant navy of Elizabeth, eſcaped with difficulty into the ports of Spain.

To the vaſt continent of America, diſcovered by the daring genius of Columbus, and reduced to ſubjection by the arms of Cortez and Pizarro, Philip had ſome time ſince added the dominions of Portugal. The people of that country had firſt of all the Europeans deſpiſed the narrow and beaten track of navigation, boldly committed themſelves to the wide expanſe of the ocean, eſtabliſhed their colonies on the coaſt of Africa, founded new cities in Aſia, and planted Braſil, in America, a valuable ſettlement of which they ſtill retain poſſeſſion. But their monarch Sebaſtian, impelled by frantic zeal and romantic valour, had periſhed waging a fruitleſs war in Africa againſt the diſciples of Mahomet; his crown paſſed to his uncle Don Henry, a cardinal and a prieſt; and on the death of Henry, the pretenſions of Philip, ſeconded by the armies of Spain and the experience of Alva, triumphed over the feebler efforts of his competitors, and annexed the kingdom of Portugal to the dominions of Spain.

But this acceſſion of ſtrength had not enabled that monarch to ſubdue the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, and to bend to the yoke the ſtubborn minds of the Flemings. A people naturally obſtinate and perſevering, were confirmed in their oppoſition by that very cruelty which had been exerted to reduce them; their habitual phlegm was quickened by the fire and commanding genius of William prince of Orange; ſeveral years had now been conſumed in the important conflict; and Philip exaſperated by reſiſtance, extended his enmity to the reformed beyond the limits of his own dominions; he regarded with dread a proteſtant prince on the throne of France; and was determined cloſely to connect himſelf with the catholic chiefs of the league;

league; while Elizabeth, intent on extirpating the catholic religion from every country in Europe to which her power and influence could reach, was prepared to ſupport a king whoſe religious principles were ſimilar to her own.

Such was the ſtate and inclinations of the two moſt powerful potentates of Europe, when the ſtroke of aſſaſſination diſmiſſed Henry the Third from a turbulent and ignominious reign. His ſucceſſor Henry the Fourth who had completed his thirty-fifth year, and was equally adorned with all the ſplendid qualities of mind and body, eloquent in council, intrepid in action, fertile in reſources; a great general, an undaunted ſoldier, and a penetrating ſtateſman, beheld in a moment a proſpect preſented to his view, which as it might kindle the ambition of the coldeſt, was ſufficient to damp the ardour of the moſt aſpiring ſpirit. The crown of France, his right by deſcent, was the object of his hopes; but innumerable objects ſtill oppoſed the peaceable poſſeſſion of it. He was indeed at the head of a conſiderable army, but the greateſt part of his troops, as well as of his ſubjects, conſiſted of catholics; his capital was in the hands of a faction formidable by their numbers, and daring in their deſigns; his coffers were empty; and the moſt fertile provinces of France acknowledged the authority of the league. A. D. 1589.

The Swiſs guards, with their colonel Sanci, firſt ſaluted Henry as their ſovereign; the mareſchal Biron aſſured him of his fidelity; the principal catholics, Bellegarde, D'o Chateauvieux, d'Entragues, and Dampierre, who had attached themſelves to the fortunes of the late king, were induced to declare themſelves in favour of the preſent; but the duke d'Epernon, under pretence of reſenting the little deference that was ſhown to him, retired with the troops more immediately under his command,

command, and firſt communicated to the camp the contagious ſpirit of diſaffection.

The duke of Mayenne, in Paris, was on this critical occaſion at leaſt as much embaraſſed as Henry; but in a ſituation the moſt delicate, he conducted himſelf with dignity and judgment, and juſtified the favourable opinion which his party entertained of his abilities. He declined the dangerous title of king, which he was earneſtly ſolicited to accept; he rejected a propoſal that was made to offer the crown to Philip of Spain; but at the ſame time he exhorted the people of France to live and die in the catholic religion, and as the king of Navarre was an heretic, to acknowledge as their ſovereign the cardinal of Bourbon.

The deſertion of the duke d'Epernon was ſoon followed by that of the moſt zealous catholics; and Henry, ſenſible of the daily diminution of his forces, retired from the walls of Paris, and ſlowly directed his march toward Normandy. The governor of Dieppe opened the gates of that city, and readily admitted his ſovereign; the officer to whom the league had entruſted Caen, diſplayed the ſame diſintereſted loyalty; the acquiſition of two places ſtrongly fortified, and provided with numerous garriſons, which might long have reſiſted the efforts of the royal army, was highly acceptable to the king, who was now able to preſerve a free communication with England, the only power he could depend upon for effectual aſſiſtance.

The duke of Mayenne was equally conſcious of the importance of the revolted towns; the zeal of the Pariſians profuſely ſupplied him with every pecuniary aid; he drew large levies of ſoldiers from Lorrain; at the head of an army of thirty thouſand men he advanced towards Normandy, and threatened to overwhelm the royal forces, ſcarce amounting to ſeven thouſand, and to reſtore Dieppe to the authority

thority of the league; his ſuperior numbers in either enterpriſe muſt have inſured ſucceſs, had he rapidly preſſed forwards; but naturally cautious and ſlow in all his motions, his dilatory march afforded Henry leiſure to ſhelter himſelf under the walls of Arques. In that poſition he was attacked by the duke of Mayenne, who, after ſeveral ineffectual attempts on the intrenchments of the royaliſts, was compelled to retire with the loſs of above ſix hundred men. The ſatisfaction of Henry at having repelled ſo formidable an antagoniſt, was heightened by the welcome intelligence, that the Swiſs cantons, the republic of Venice, and the queen of England, had acknowledged him as king; and by the junction of four thouſand ſoldiers whom Elizabeth had diſpatched to his ſupport.

With this reinforcement, and with the troops which the count of Soiſſons, the dukes of Orleans and Longueville, the mareſchals Biron and Aumont, led to his aſſiſtance, Henry determined once more to appear before the gates of Paris, and endeavoured to ſurpriſe the unguarded capital. By rapid marches he outſtripped the intelligence of his deſigns; and the Pariſians were aſtoniſhed and intimidated by the hoſtile appearance of a monarch, whom they fondly expected to have beheld led through the ſtreets, a captive to the victorious arms of the league. He inſulted the ſuburbs; cut in pieces above thirteen hundred of the troops of the league; and would probably have made himſelf maſter of his capital, had not the duke of Mayenne, at that critical moment, entered Paris on the oppoſite ſide; prudence allowed Henry no longer to perſiſt in beſieging a city, always formidable from the number of its inhabitants, and now defended by an army more numerous than his own; he retired to Tours; while the duke of Mayenne, in Paris, ſolemnly proclaimed as king the captive cardinal of

Bourbon, by the title of Charles the Tenth; in the name of this pageant of royalty, who was himſelf a priſoner to Henry, the duke diſſolved the council of union, whoſe intemperate meaſures and ſecret intrigues with Spain he had long diſapproved; and with the aſſiſtance of a privy-council nominated by himſelf, and devoted to his will, aſſumed the ſupreme adminiſtration of affairs.

The duke of Savoy, deſcended by his mother from Francis the Firſt, had not heſitated, on the death of Henry the Third, to urge his pretenſions to the vacant throne; ſenſible of the weakneſs of his claim, amidſt the general confuſion; he endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf of Provence and Dauphiné; he was baffled by the ſkill and vigilance of Valette, elder brother to the duke d'Epernon who ſacrificed his fortune and his life in the ſervice of his ſovereign; while the duke himſelf, without publicly acknowledging the authority of Henry, acted with ſpirit and ſucceſs againſt the league.

A. D 1590. The duke of Mayenne, after the retreat of Henry from Paris, had reduced Pontoiſe, twice inveſted Meulan, and twice retired on the approach of that monarch. The king, in return, with an army of twelve thouſand men, laid ſiege to Dreux; and the walls were already ſhaken by his attacks, when he was informed that the army of the league, reinforced by the prince of Parma, and conſiſting of ſixteen thouſand veteran ſoldiers, was advancing towards him. He immediately deſiſted from the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and, determined to hazard a deciſive engagement, poſted himſelf at Yvri, on the banks of the river Eure. The duke of Mayenne ſtill wiſhed to avoid committing the fortune of his party to the fate of a ſingle day; but his own irreſolution was vanquiſhed by the reproaches of the citizens of Paris, and by the daring counſels, and preſumptuous vaunts of

count Egmont, whoſe father had periſhed the victim of the jealouſy of Philip, and the cruelty of the duke of Alva. Yet the ſon had diſplayed undaunted zeal and unſhaken loyalty in the cauſe of the tyrant; and, inflamed with religious enmity towards the reformed, had been detached by the prince of Parma to the ſupport of the catholic arms. He boaſted that the cavalry which he led were able alone to encounter and vanquiſh the royal army; and the duke of Mayenne reluctantly yielded to his impetuous courage. The conflict was long obſtinately maintained; but the ſuperior genius of Henry at length prevailed. Count Egmont, with the greateſt part of his detachment, periſhed on the field; two thouſand five hundred of the leaguers were involved in the ſame fate; and the duke of Mayenne, after having diſcharged the ſeveral duties of a general and a ſoldier, eſcaped with difficulty from the ſword of the conqueror. The Swiſs, who amidſt the general rout alone preſerved their ranks and reputation, conſented to enter into the ſervice of the king; but Henry was prevented from immediately improving his advantage by the diſtreſſed ſtate of his finances; he ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed by a fallacious negociation; and it was not till near two months afterwards, that he marched to, and blocked up, the city of Paris.

About this time the cardinal of Bourbon, his competitor for the crown, ſunk into the grave, expreſſing in his laſt moments his regard for his ſucceſsful rival, and conſcious of the intereſted views of thoſe who had affected to elevate him to a throne; yet his name for ſeveral years, after his death, was uſed to ſanction the deſigns of the league, and to nouriſh the flame of rebellion. The Pariſians ſtill diſplayed the ſame implacable enmity towards their ſovereign; and the duke of Nemours, who had been appointed governor of the capital, diſtin-

guiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct. Even the eccleſiaſtics on this occaſion forgot the peaceable tenets of their religion; and, emerging from the gloom of the cloyſter, formed themſelves into a regiment, under the command of the legate of the court of Rome. This holy corps could have added but little real ſtrength to the cauſe in which it armed, and Paris derived more effectual advantage from the humanity of the ſovereign, whom it continued thus obſtinately to reſiſt; famine and peſtilence began already to ſtalk at large through the ſtreets; and the duke of Nemours, to avoid the inſtant conſequences of the former, commanded the aged and infirm to leave the city; had Henry refuſed a paſſage through his lines to theſe unhappy wretches, it is more than probable his capital muſt have ſurrendered; but his natural clemency prevailed over the ſuggeſtions of ambition; and he rejected the counſels of his officers, who adviſed him to drive them back with the ſword; yet even this could only for a ſhort time alleviate, but not extinguiſh their miſery; the cry of peace, or bread, reſounded through the ſtreets; and the reſolution of the duke of Nemours muſt have yielded to the clamours of a ravenous and diſorderly multitude, when the fainting ſpirits of the leaguers were again revived by the approach of the duke of Mayenne and prince of Parma.

In the ſpace of the laſt month famine had conſumed above thirty thouſand of the inhabitants of Paris; each feeling of nature was overborne by the preſſure of immediate diſtreſs; at the imperious call of hunger, mothers are reported to have prolonged a guilty life by feeding on the diſmembered limbs of their offspring. With mingled horror and compaſſion Henry turned from his polluted capital; and impatient, amidſt the tumult of battle, of effacing from his mind the inhuman ſcenes he had witneſſed,

directed

directed his march towards the prince of Parma; that able commander at Meaux had joined the duke of Mayenne with fourteen thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and their confederate forces compoſed an army of twenty four thouſand infantry, and near twelve thouſand cavalry; but the ſole object of the prince was to relieve Paris, and he determined to accompliſh it, if poſſible, without hazarding a general engagement. To a defiance from the king of France, to put an end to the calamities of the kingdom by a deciſive action, he cooly replied, that he was accuſtomed to fight only when he thought proper himſelf, and not when it was convenient for his enemies; and by a ſeries of ſkilful operations, which commanded the admiration of Henry himſelf, he eluded the vigilance of his adverſary; ſtormed within his very ſight the walls of Lagni, ſwept away the garriſon of St. Maur and Charenton, and once more poured plenty into the famiſhed capital.

Though Henry himſelf could not but applaud the ſkill and conduct of the prince of Parma, yet his generous ſpirit was ſeverely mortified by the diſappointment. Paris was raviſhed from his graſp, at the moment that his hand was ſtretched out to ſeize it; the ſuperior dexterity of his antagoniſt had wounded his reputation, and evaded his endeavours to force him to a battle; his own army was greatly weakned by ſickneſs and the fatigues of a long campaign; the ravaged country could no longer ſupply the neceſſary ſubſiſtence; his exchequer was exhauſted; the nobility and gentry, who ſerved him a their own expence, were diſcontented and impatien to depart; and he was compelled, though reluctantly, to embrace the only expedient that remained; he retired to St. Denys, diſbanded the greateſt part of his forces, diſmiſſed his principal adherents to the protection of the provinces in which their intereſt lay, and with a flying army of his beſt troops prepared

prepared to watch the motions of the prince of Parma.

That general, after the relief of Paris, at the requeſt of the duke of Mayenne and the chiefs of the league, inveſted Corbeil; which, though defended with gallantry, was taken by aſſault. The prince, to ſound the inclinations of the catholic leaders towards the king of Spain, propoſed to garriſon it with his Walloon, or Italian troops; but this offer was rejected with indignation by the duke of Mayenne and his confederates; and the manner of their refuſal clearly diſcovered their jealouſy and ſuſpicion of Philip. The prince confirmed in his opinion, that the moment was not yet arrived of avowing the ambitious deſigns of his maſter, and influenced ſtill more by the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the ſickly ſtate of his troops, the want of money and proviſions, determined, notwithſtanding the importunities of the catholic chiefs, to return into the Netherlands, and leave the contending parties to exhauſt their ſtrength, in mutual animoſity, in hopes their weakneſs hereafter would deliver them an eaſy prey to Spain.

Leſt the catholics might be overpowered in his abſence by the ſuperior genius of the king of France, the prince left for their ſupport a body of ſix thouſand men, and with the reſt of his troops began his march towards the Netherlands; but he was ſenſible that ſo enterpriſing a commander as Henry, however his weakneſs had compelled him to remain a peaceable ſpectator of his late operations, would not fail to obſerve his retreat with a vigilant eye. That he might accompliſh without loſs this arduous deſign, he drew up his army in four diviſions, and marched always in order of battle; the country through which he paſſed was diligently in the morning reconnoitred by his light cavalry, and his army each night was ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments.

The

The moment that Henry was informed of the intended route of his adverſary, he collected a ſmall but ſelect body of troops; and impatient to efface his diſgrace before Paris and Lagni, continually hovered round and haraſſed the forces of Spain; his bravery and vigilance were diſplayed in inceſſant attacks; but in the paſſage of the river Ainè his ardour precipitated him amidſt the thickeſt of the enemy, and he muſt either have periſhed, or ſurrendered to the multitude that ſurrounded him, had he not been diſengaged by the active gallantry of baron Biron, ſon to the mareſchal; yet his danger, inſtead of depreſſing, ſeemed only to inflame his enterpriſing ſpirit. The length of the march, the badneſs of the roads, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year, all contributed to ſecond his attempts, and to increaſe the diſtreſs of the enemy; but every obſtacle vaniſhed before the prudence and ſkill of the prince of Parma; and, without any conſiderable loſs, he triumphantly conducted his troops into the province of Hainault.

The mortification of Henry at beholding his rival thus eſcape with impunity, was increaſed by the ſucceſs of the duke of Savoy in Provence, and by the unſeaſonable death of pope Sixtus the Fifth. The former reduced Frejus and Antibes, and entered Aix in triumph; the latter expired at the moment that he had determined to break with the Spaniards, and to urge by arms the claim of the court of Rome to the kingdom of Naples; Urban the Seventh, his tranſient ſucceſſor, within a few months ſunk alſo into the grave; and the vacant apoſtolical chair was filled with Gregory the Fourteenth, by birth a Spaniard, and the moſt implacable enemy of Henry. He inſtantly declared that monarch an heretic, abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance, and involved them in the cenſures of the church, unleſs they quitted the impious party they had eſpouſed.

But

A D. 1591. But the magnanimity of Henry ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the difficulties that preſented themſelves; baffled in repeated attempts to ſurpriſe the city of Paris, he ſtill maintained his ſuperiority in the field; a ſupply of money and ammunition from England enabled him ſoon after to beſiege Chartres. In the reduction of that city Francis de Coligni, ſon to the celebrated admiral, diſplayed qualities which promiſed even to ſurpaſs thoſe of his father; and his death ſoon after was univerſally deplored by the calviniſts, who were permitted to behold, and to lament the loſs of his virtues. From the acquiſition of Chartres, the king directed his attacks to Noyon, which was compelled to ſurrender even in the ſight of the duke of Mayenne.

The eſcape of the young duke of Guiſe from the caſtle of Tours, in which he had been confined ever ſince his father's death, increaſed the number of Henry's enemies; but the duke of Mayenne, on his ſide, found himſelf almoſt equally embarraſſed with thoſe who profeſſed themſelves his moſt zealous friends. The council of ſixteen had again aſſumed the government of the capital, and inflamed with religious and political fury, had cauſed, on a frivolous charge, and without the form of a trial, the preſident, and two of the counſellors, to be ſeized and executed. On information of this outrage, the duke of Mayenne, with a ſelect body of troops, haſtily returned from Picardy; ſeverely reproached the council for their inſolence and temerity; and as an example to the reſt, commanded four of the moſt guilty to be inſtantly hung up in his hall. The ſurvivors, intimidated by the fate of their companions, gladly withdrew to their original obſcurity.

The forces of Henry had been ſwelled by ſixteen thouſand Germans, levied by the viſcount de Turenne,

renne, and were reinforced by four thouſand Engliſh, commanded by the earl of Eſſex; and the king of France, with an army of nearly thirty thouſand horſe and foot, laid ſiege to Rouen, the capital of Normandy. That city was defended with the higheſt intrepidity and ſkill by the Sieur de Villars; but there was little probability that he would be able long to reſiſt ſo formidable a force, directed by ſo able a commander as Henry. The duke of Mayenne, alarmed at the danger of ſo important a place, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the king of Spain, and the prince of Parma was again commanded to enter France, and endeavour to preſerve Rouen.

He began his march about the middle of December, and his army, when joined by that of the duke of Mayenne, might conſiſt of twenty-five thouſand infantry, and ſix thouſand cavalry. Henry informed of his approach, and unwilling to relinquiſh his hopes of a city which he daily expected would capitulate, left his foot to proſecute the ſiege, and with his horſe advanced to retard the progreſs of the prince. But his ardour on this occaſion precipitated him into a danger the moſt lively and imminent; having with four hundred horſe outſtripped the reſt of his ſquadrons, he fell in with the van of the Spaniards, near the town of Aumale. Theſe he charged and repulſed; and purſued his advantage till he deeply engaged himſelf with the adverſe ranks; for ſome time he continued fighting deſperately, till wounded in the reins, and the greater part of his companions killed by his ſide, he effected a retreat, which it would have been impoſſible for him to have accompliſhed, had not the prince of Parma, ſuſpicious of an ambuſcade, called off his troops.

The forces of the confederates, though inceſſantly haraſſed and repeatedly attacked had now penetrated within two days march of Rouen, when they were

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ſurpriſed by the agreeable intelligence that the governor had availed himſelf of the abſence of the king, ſallied from the town, and deſtroyed the works and cut in pieces great numbers of the beſiegers; mareſchal Biron himſelf, who commanded, was wounded, and Villars, who aſpired to the glory of raiſing the ſiege without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniards, added, that if his garriſon was reinforced, he expected to defend the town for ſeveral months longer. Though the prince of Parma was of opinion that he ſtill ought to purſue his march, and attack the royaliſts before they had recovered from their confuſion, yet he yielded to the counſels of the duke of Mayenne, and after detaching eight hundred choſen men to Rouen, he turned aſide into Picardy, and inveſted St. Eſprit de Rue.

A. D. 1592. The king himſelf was no ſooner informed of this reſolution, than he returned to preſs the ſiege of Rouen with redoubled vigour. The loſs that he had ſuſtained was amply ſupplied by cannon and ammunition from the ſtates of Holland, and Villars, in a few weeks reduced to diſtreſs, was again compelled to implore the relief of the prince of Parma. That general immediately relinquiſhed the ſiege of St. Eſprit de Rue, and rapidly preſſed forwards towards Rouen. Though Henry could not conceal his mortification at being thus obliged twice to abandon a place which he had daily expected to occupy, yet conſcious of the inferior numbers of his own army, he retired from the inauſpicious walls, and waited at Pont de l'Arche the return of his nobility, who, on the former occaſion, ſeeing no immediate proſpect of a battle, had left his camp, and withdrawn to their reſpective provinces.

The prince of Parma, after entering Rouen in triumph, led his army againſt Caudbec, the reduction

tion of which was thought neceſſary to complete the deliverance of the former city; but as he marked in perſon the ground for the batteries, he received a wound in his arm from a muſket ball. A fever attended the wound; and he ſcarce on his recovery had poſſeſſed himſelf of Caudbec, before he was ſenſible that his own army was expoſed to a greater danger than that from which he had relieved the citizens of Rouen. Caudbec is ſituated in the peninſula Caux, formed by the Seine on the weſt, and the ſea and the river d'Eu on the north and eaſt; and the king was no ſooner informed that the prince had committed his forces within the narrow limits of Caux, than he prepared to efface by a ſignal revenge the memory of his former diſappointments. The nobility at his ſummons had repaired with alacrity to his ſtandard; his army by their ready appearance was increaſed to ſeventeen thouſand foot and eight thouſand horſe. He already poſſeſſed the towns of Eu, Arques, and Dieppe, which commanded the eaſtern entrance into the peninſula; and after ſeveral ſharp encounters, he occupied the defiles to the ſouth by which the Spaniards had entered. With more than uſual precaution he fortified his camp againſt the deſpair of the enemy; and the prince of Parma's health no ſooner enabled him to reconnoitre the poſition of the royaliſts, than he was convinced no other expedient remained than to tranſport his troops acroſs the Seine. To paſs the broad and rapid ſtream of that river, with ſo conſiderable an army incumbered with artillery and baggage, and in ſight of a vigilant and powerful adverſary, appeared to the duke of Mayenne and the moſt experienced officers utterly impracticable; but no difficulties could depreſs the bold and inventive genius of the prince of Parma. He collected from Rouen a number of boats and rafts; he cleared by his cannon the Seine of the Dutch

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ſhips which occupied it; he availed himſelf of the riſing grounds between him and the royaliſts, which ſcreened his motions from the ſight of Henry; he ſeized the favourable moment of a thick miſt, and while his cavalry threatened a ſerious attack on the works of the enemy, his infantry, with the artillery and baggage, ſafely croſſed the river; they were rapidly followed by the horſe; and the rear was ſecured from loſs or inſult by two batteries which he had judiciouſly erected.

Henry had for ſeveral days flattered himſelf with the moſt ſanguine hopes of gaining a deciſive victory, and his mortification was in proportion to the confidence of his former expectations. His rival had again eluded his efforts, and poſſeſſed himſelf in his retreat to the Netherlands of Epernai, while the duke of Mayenne with a part of his forces had entered Rouen. The exhauſted ſtate of the king's finances had compelled him to diſband the majority of his army; on the frontiers of Anjou the prince of Conti was defeated by the duke of Mercœur. a zealous leaguer, and a younger branch of the houſe of Lorrain; Epernai was indeed recovered by the royaliſts, but the acquiſition was attended with the death of the mareſchal Biron, whoſe career of military glory was terminated by a canon ball. On the other hand, in Dauphiné, Leſdaguieres, who had firmly attached himſelf to the fortunes of Henry, vanquiſhed the duke of Savoy, and purſued him to the very gates of Turin; and the duke of Joyeuſe, who commanded in Languedoc an army of ſeven thouſand men in the ſervice of the league, was routed by the royal troops under Themines, and miſerably periſhed with the greateſt part of his followers in the waters of the Tarn.

The league was induced by theſe diſaſters to ſolicit again the aſſiſtance of Spain; and the prince of Parma

Parma was once more commanded to march to the ſupport of the catholic cauſe. But the conſtitution of that able commander was already fatally impaired by the fatigues of fourteen ſucceſſive campaigns; the wound which he had received before Caudbec had never properly healed; and while he applied with his wonted aſſiduity to haſten the neceſſary preparations for his expedition, his death deprived the king of Spain of a ſubject whoſe ſagacity and penetration had re-united to his crown great part of the Netherlands, and delivered the king of France from a rival whoſe ſplendid military talents had ſo often baffled his beſt concerted enterpriſes. On his deceaſe, the goverment of the Netherlands was committed to count Peter Erneſt of Manſveldt, whoſe ſon Charles led a Spaniſh army of ſeven thouſand veteran ſoldiers to the ſupport of the league, and after, in conjunction with the duke of Mayenne, reducing Noyon, returned to Flanders.

Philip had hitherto laviſhed his treaſures and the blood of his ſubjects to keep alive the flame of war in France; but the progreſs of his arms had yet been attended with no permanent advantage, and he now endeavoured by negociation to ſecure in his family the crown, the object of his ambition. His importunity had prevailed on the duke of Mayenne to aſſemble the ſtates at Paris, and the duke of Feria, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, endeavoured to perſuade the deputies to place Iſabella, the daughter of his royal maſter, on the throne. Though even the moſt bigotted catholics abhorred a meaſure which muſt have rendered France in fact a province of Spain, yet conſcious they were unable to contend with Henry, unleſs ſupported by Philip, they ſtudiouſly concealed their averſion, and expreſſed an affected ſolicitude in regard to the perſon whom the latter prince might name for his daughter's conſort. A. D. 1593.

ſort. The archduke of Auſtria they unanimouſly rejected, and declared that they never would ſubmit to her union with a foreign prince. The young duke of Guiſe, the next object of Philip's choice, was endeared to them by the name and popularity of his father; but the duke of Mayenne beheld with ſecret diſguſt his nephew preferred before his ſon; while outwardly he profeſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at the propoſal, he privately determined to traverſe it; and inſiſted, both for the honour of the king of Spain and for the ſafety of the duke of Guiſe, that the election of Iſabella ſhould be deferred till an army was aſſembled ſufficient to overwhelm her enemies, and to firmly eſtabliſh her on the throne.

But while the king of Spain and the catholic chiefs were bewildered in an endleſs labyrinth of negociation, both were ſurpriſed by an event as important as it was unexpected. Henry had beheld with anxiety the aſſembly of the ſtates, and dreaded the intrigues of the duke of Mayenne with the court of Spain. He perceived the religious prejudices of the catholics were confirmed by a ſeries of long and bloody hoſtilities; thoſe who hitherto acted with him, had been deluded by the hopes of his converſion; their patience was now exhauſted; and they publicly ſuggeſted the neceſſity of transferring their allegiance to the cardinal of Bourbon, the couſin of the king; deſirous of delivering his people from the calamities of war, the humanity of Henry co-operated with his ambition; even the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the proteſtant leaders, and his favourite Roſny, afterwards better known by the title of duke of Sully, exhorted him to conſult the happineſs of his ſubjects, and to relinquiſh a faith which he only could maintain amidſt ſcenes of blood and devaſtation. In conſequence of this advice, Henry invited the catholic divines throughout his kingdom to come and inſtruct

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him in their religion, and after being present at several conferences, he professed himself satisfied with their arguments, heard mass at St. Denys, read aloud his confession of the catholic faith, and declared his resolution constantly to maintain and defend it.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXX.

Coronation of Henry at Chartres—Is Admitted into Paris—Acquires Rouen—Siege of Laon—Submiſſion of the Duke of Guiſe—Attempt on the Life of Henry by John Chatel—Treaty with the Duke of Mayenne—Abſolution from the See of Rome—Calais taken by the Spaniards—Surpriſe of Amiens—That City Recovered, and the Extinction of the League—Peace of Vervins.

A. D. 1593. THE converſion of Henry ought to have enſured the ſubmiſſion of his catholic ſubjects; but the embers of civil commotion which had been waked into life by the breath of religion, were now fanned by that of ambition; and the voice of the pope, which might have extinguiſhed, ſtill continued to nouriſh the deſtructive flame. Gregory the Fourteenth was indeed no more, and Innocent the Ninth, who with the power ſeemed to have ſucceeded to the implacable diſpoſition of his predeceſſor, had alſo ſunk into the grave; but Clement the Eighth, who had been elected to the honours of the pontificate, ſtill refuſed to admit the ambaſſadors of Henry, or to relieve him from the ſentence of excommunication which had been pronounced againſt him.

The duke of Mayenne and the Spaniſh miniſters, alarmed at the intelligence that Henry had entered the pale of the catholic church, reſumed their intrigues with redoubled vigour. They repreſented it to the people merely as a political device to evade the election of a catholic prince; and they perſuaded a number of their adherents to ſwear that they would not acknowledge Henry for King, unleſs his converſion was ratified by the pope; while at the ſame time they

they employed their influence to confirm the inflexible diſpoſition of the ſee of Rome. Philip was now more ſenſible than ever of his error in connecting himſelf with the duke of Guiſe, a young nobleman of little weight, in preference to the duke of Mayenne; he ordered his miniſters to acquaint that powerful leader, that on mature conſideration he had changed his intentions, and was determined to beſtow the hand of his daughter Iſabella on his ſon.

But while Philip and the chiefs of the league endeavoured to fortify themſelves againſt the increaſing influence of the king of France, the hand of an obſcure enthuſiaſt, who earned a daily and ſlender pittance as a waterman on the Loire, was already prepared to extinguiſh their fears with the life of his ſovereign. James Barrier, for ſuch was the name of the unhappy bigot, had communicated his intentions to ſeveral of the moſt zealous eccleſiaſtics, who had eſpouſed the party of the league, and their exhortations had confirmed his reſolution; at length he revealed them to a dominican friar at Lyons, who ſtruck with horror at the crime, contrived to tranſmit to the king, with the picture of the aſſaſſin, an account of the atrocious deed that he meditated. From the reſemblance of the portrait, Barrier was diſcovered and apprehended at Meulan; and after confeſſing his guilt, and in vain endeavouring to impeach the count of Soiſſons as having ſtimulated him to the attempt, was executed as a traitor.

Though the enmity of the league was but little abated, their reſources were in a great meaſure exhauſted; they had ſolicited, and Henry had conſented to a truce for three months; this was afterwards extended to ſix more; and the ſweets of tranquillity which the people in this interval had taſted, rendered them ſtill more averſe to plunge again into the calamities of war. The deſcription of ſcenes, clouded by anarchy, and where an independent intereſt was

maintained in almoſt every different province, cannot fail of fatiguing the patience of the reader. The duke of Savoy was routed again by Leſdaguieres, who alſo diſperſed an army of three thouſand Spaniards on the frontiers, and checked in Provence the arrogance of the duke d'Epernon; but Languedoc alone, amidſt the general diſtraction was exempted from the miſeries which had afflicted the reſt of the kingdom; and the prudence of the mareſchal Montmorency, which had ſecured the peace of that province, was rewarded by the king with the ſword of conſtable.

In vain did the intrigues of the court of Spain and Rome endeavour to allay A. D. 1594. that ſatisfaction with which every honeſt catholic in France had heard the news of their ſovereign's converſion to the faith they profeſſed. Lewis de l'Hoſpital, marquis of Vitri, had on the death of Henry the Third withdrawn himſelf from the preſent king, and was by the league entruſted with the city of Meaux. He had frequently, but in vain, importuned the duke of Mayenne to terminate by a peace the calamities of France; but no ſooner did Henry abjure the proteſtant religion, than he determined to follow the dictates of his conſcience, and to return to his allegiance. He commanded his garriſon to evacuate the town, and when he delivered the keys to the magiſtrates, "I ſcorn," ſaid he, "to ſteal a "place, or to make my fortune at other mens ex-"pence; I am going to pay my duty to the king, "and I leave it in your power to act as you pleaſe." This ſhort, but animated harangue was attended by the acclamations of the inhabitants, and the air reſounded with "Long life to Henry the Fourth!" The flame of loyalty once kindled, ſoon imparted its warmth to the moſt diſtant parts of the kingdom; and the example of Meaux was followed by the cities of Pontoiſe, Orleans, Bourges, and Lyons, which

which ſhook off the yoke of the league, and acknowledged the authority of Henry.

The king determined to embrace the moment of returning proſperity to celebrate his coronation; Rheims was ſtill in the hands of his enemies, and Chartres was preferred for that important ceremony. It was performed by Nicolas de Thou, biſhop of that city; and was graced by the preſence of the prince of Conti, and count of Soiſſons, with the dukes of Montpenſier, Luxembourgh, Retz and Ventatour; it was ſcarce accompliſhed, before a new event engroſſed the attention of Henry; and while it diſſipated the viſionary projects of his adverſaries, ſeemed firmly to fix the crown on his head.

The preſence of the duke of Mayenne, and the terror of a Spaniſh garriſon, had hitherto reſtrained the fickle diſpoſition of the Pariſians, and maintained the authority of the league; but the diſorders of Picardy ſummoned the duke to that province; he had before deprived the count of Belin, whoſe inclinations he perceived to lean ſecretly towards the king, of the government of the capital, and now conferred it on Charles de Coſſé, count of Briſſac. That nobleman, impreſſed with an high and romantic reſpect for the commonwealth of Rome, the hiſtory of which he had diligently ſtudied, entertained the ſingular and chimerical project of forming France into a ſimilar republic. His deſigns had been received with cold contempt by the chiefs of the league; and alarmed, leſt, on Henry recovering his capital, he ſhould be involved in the fate of his favourite ſyſtem, the ſpirit of the ſtern republican evaporated, and Briſſac became only anxious for his intereſt and his ſafety.

To ſecure theſe, he immediately entered into a negociation with the king, and on advantageous conditions agreed to admit the royal forces into the city of Paris. While the Spaniards were amuſed by

the arts of Briſſac, the new gate was opened to Henry and his army, who inſtantly poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſquares and principal ſtreets. The Pariſians received their ſovereign with loud acclamations; the troops maintained the moſt exact diſcipline; and amidſt the revolution, the city throughout bore the appearance of peace and ſecurity. The Spaniards alone, about four thouſand in number, and commanded by the duke of Feria, ſtill occupied the quarters of St. Anthony and St. Martin, with the Baſtile and the Temple. Theſe they diligently fortified, and declared their reſolution, if attacked, to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity; but from this deſperate deſign they were ſoon diverted by Henry, who, unwilling to pollute with blood that capital which he had juſt recovered, permitted them to march out with all the honours of war.

The enemies of Henry who had reſiſted his arms, were vanquiſhed by his clemency. His generous ſpirit, ſuperior to reſentment, revolted at the idea of puniſhing thoſe who were willing to ſubmit; and he received his moſt inveterate foes with a degree of goodneſs and condeſcenſion, which for ever attached them to his ſervice. Even the ducheſs of Montpenſier, who had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the moſt indecent and public invectives, was admitted to his preſence, and by his familiar converſation, he endeavoured to baniſh that confuſion which ſhe could not entirely conceal; Briſſac, with a liberal pecuniary reward, was raiſed to the rank of mareſchal; l'Huillier, mayor of Paris, who had diſplayed equal, and more diſintereſted zeal, was preferred to the poſt of preſident of accounts; while a general amneſty diſſipated the fears, and reſtored to tranquillity to the anxious multitude.

Villars, who had defended Rouen with ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſkill and courage, ſoon after opened the gates of that city, and proclaimed Henry the Fourth.

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His return to his allegiance was recompenſed with the dignity of admiral, and the government of the place he had ſurrendered; Cambray, which had been wreſted from the Spaniards by the duke of Anjou, and by that prince had been bequeathed to Catherine of Medicis, was ruled with independent authority by Balagny, a French officer, whom the queen-mother had entruſted with the defence of it. The waining fortunes of the league recalled Balagny to a ſenſe of his delicate ſituation; and he was conſcious that he muſt ſeek a protector in the king of France, or of Spain; his partiality to his native country determined him to prefer the ſupport of the former; and he acknowledged his dependance on Henry, on condition that under him he ſhould be permitted to enjoy the ſovereignty, with the title of prince of Cambray.

The duke of Mayenne, embarraſſed by the rapid deſertion of his confederates, again ſolicited the ſupport of Spain; and though Philip could no longer flatter himſelf with the hopes of obtaining the crown of France, his implacable enmity to Henry, and his dread leſt that monarch, when firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, ſhould revive the pretenſions of his houſe to Navarre, determined him ſtill to keep alive the flames of civil war. He detached Charles count of Manſveldt with an army of twelve thouſand men, to invade the province of Picardy; the count laid ſiege to the town of la Capelle, and before Henry could march to its aſſiſtance, the garriſon was compelled to capitulate.

The king of France had aſſembled an army of twelve thouſand infantry, and two thouſand cavalry; and to indemnify himſelf for the loſs of la Capelle, he inveſted Laon. That city, ſtrongly fortified, and well provided, was defended by a numerous garriſon, commanded by one of the braveſt officers of the league, and animated by the preſence of the count

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of Somerive, ſecond ſon to the duke of Mayenne. Henry carried on his operations with his wonted ardour; and the duke of Mayenne, alarmed for the fate of the town, the moſt conſiderable that remained in his poſſeſſion, advanced to the relief of it with the Spaniſh forces, the chief command of which Philip had conferred on him; but his efforts were continually fruſtrated by the valour and activity of the mareſchal Biron, ſon to the celebrated commander who had periſhed before Epernai, and who now emulated the martial fame of his father. Mayenne, diſtreſſed for proviſions, was at length compelled to retreat; but though haraſſed, and repeatedly attacked by the ſuperior forces of the royaliſts, he maintained an undaunted countenance, repulſed by his conduct and courage the attempts of his enemies, and reached La Fere in ſafety; on his retreat, Laon, hopeleſs of ſuccour, capitulated; the garriſon was permitted to march out with all the honours of war, and Henry diſplayed his magnanimity by treating the count of Somerive with every mark of reſpect. A conduct ſo truly generous, could not but impreſs the enemies of the king with the moſt favourable ſentiments; and the duke of Guiſe, mortified at the neglect of the Spaniards, and impelled by his admiration of Henry, reconciled himſelf to his ſovereign, and delivered to him the towns of Vitri, Rocroix, and Rheims.

The daily return of his ſubjects to their allegiance, and the expiring ſtate of the league, inſpired Henry with more vigorous counſels. He now publicly declared war againſt Spain, and entered into a treaty of alliance with the revolted inhabitants of the Netherlands, who by the treaty of Utrecht had laid the foundation of a free republic under the title of the *United Provinces*. While the allies purſued their joint preparations with diligence, the enemies of Henry again reſolved to aſſail the life of that monarch;

narch; as the king in his apartments of the Louvre ſtooped to embrace a nobleman that was preſented to him, he received a ſtroke from a knife, that cut his lip, and broke one of his teeth; the compoſure of Henry diſpelled the conſternation of his friends; the aſſaſſin was immediately diſcovered and ſeized. His name was John Chatel, a ſcholar of the college of the jeſuits, to the influence of whoſe doctrines he attributed his atrocious attempt. Chatel was inſtantly conſigned to the puniſhment due to his crime; father John Guignard, who was accuſed of having vindicated in his writings the right of the ſubject to attempt the life of his prince, was alſo executed; and the whole order of the jeſuits was commanded, on the penalty of death, to quit the dominions of France.

Henry, ſtill more determined in his reſolution to proſecute the war, and to A. D. 1595. ſeek in camps that ſafety which was denied him in his own palace, entered the county of Burgundy, Dijon, the capital of which had already declared for him; but he had ſcarce poſſeſſed himſelf of Troyes, before he was informed that the Spaniards, commanded by the conſtable Velaſco, and joined by the duke of Mayenne, had paſſed the Saone. At Fontaine Françoiſe, the confederates were attacked by Henry with his wonted ardour and impetuoſity. At the head of eighteen hundred horſe and foot, the king of France carried carnage and confuſion through an army of fourteen thouſand men; but had not the caution of Velaſco reſiſted the importunities of the duke of Mayenne, neither the courage of Henry, or the fidelity of his companions, could have prevented him for being overpowered by the number of his enemies; but the Spaniard, intimidated by the boldneſs of his aſſailants, founded a retreat, left the king in poſſeſſion of the field of battle, and early next morning repaſſed the Saone. He thence purſued

ſued his march to the town of Gray, where, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the duke of Mayenne, he fortified his camp, and determined to remain on the defenſive.

But in Picardy the campaign opened with events leſs auſpicious to France. The count of Fuentes, who had been appointed by Philip governor of the Netherlands, penetrated into that province, reduced Chatelet, and endeavoured, by treachery, to poſſeſs himſelf of Ham; his troops were admitted into the town, but the caſtle reſiſted their attacks. Baffled in this enterpriſe, he pointed his march towards Dourlens, which he immediately inveſted. Senſible of the importance of that city, Admiral Villars, with a body of ſelect ſoldiers, advanced to reinforce the garriſon. He was met, encountered, and overwhelmed by the ſuperior forces of the Spaniards, and periſhed in the field, with fifteen hundred of his companions, gallantly fighting to the laſt. Dourlens was ſoon after carried by aſſault, and the brave defenders of its walls, diſdaining to aſk quarter, were put to the ſword.

The ſucceſs which had attended Fuentes, ſerved only to inflame him with the deſire of further glory. The ſituation of Cambray has been already deſcribed, and the Spaniſh commander determined to ſignaliſe his arms by the ſiege of that city. Balagny had ſpared no expence or pains in ſtrengthening the fortifications of the place. The garriſon amounted to three thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe; and the town was well furniſhed with military ſtores and proviſions. The principal officers of Fuentes repreſented to him the danger of waſting his forces in ſo arduous an enterpriſe, but he refuſed to liſten to their remonſtrances, and began his operations without delay. They were carried on with a degree of ſkill and vigour that even vanquiſhed the reſiſtance of de Vic, whom Henry had ſent with a reinforce-

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ment to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged. The inhabitants, diſguſted with the extortion and inſolence of Balagny, co-operated with the arms of the Spaniards and opened their gates to the aſſailants; the garriſon retired into the caſtle, but were ſoon compelled to ſurrender from the want of proviſions. Cambray was again reſtored to the dominions of Spain; and the tranſient ſovereignty of Balagny was extinguiſhed for ever.

In the mean while the king of France croſſed the Saone in purſuit of Velaſco, and unable to draw the conſtable from his intrenchments, extended his devaſtations over Franche Compté. From the conqueſt of that country he was diverted by the powerful mediation of the Swiſs Cantons; but the inactivity of the Spaniards awakened the jealouſy of the duke of Mayenne, who at length determined to ſeparate himſelf from allies he could no longer confide in. His inclinations had already been intimated to Henry; but Mayenne ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution never to effect a reconciliation till that monarch had been abſolved by the pope; Henry ſecretly ſuggeſted to him to retire to Chalons, a town ſtill in his power till Clement ſhould relent, and aſſured him that no advantage ſhould be taken in his abſence of himſelf or his adherents; the duke had ſcarce arrived at that place, when the Roman pontiff, fully convinced that Henry was firmly eſtabliſhed on his throne, abſolved him in form from the cenſures that had been pronounced againſt him by his predeceſſors.

A. D. 1596. The duke of Mayenne immediately threw himſelf at the feet of his ſovereign, and vowed a fidelity which he ever afterwards inviolably preſerved. The duke of Guiſe in Provence equally diſplayed by actions the ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion; he ſurpriſed Marſeilles, checked the arrogance of the duke d'Epernon, who had aſſumed the

the ſtyle of independence, and reduced that haughty chieftain to implore the clemency of his royal maſter. Henry himſelf, after his return from Franche Compté, had entered Picardy, and inveſted La Fere; the ſtrength of the fortifications, and the number of the garriſon, had determined him to relinquiſh his hopes of carrying it by aſſault, and to depend on the ſlow but certain effects of famine. The Spaniards, commanded by the archduke Albert, in whoſe favour Philip had ſuperſeded the count de Fuentes, abandoned the impracticable deſign of preſerving La Fere, and formed the reſolution of beſieging ſome other frontier town which might compenſate for the loſs of that place. The ſieur de Ronè, a native of France, and a zealous officer of the league, who had been refuſed by Henry the rank of mareſchal, repreſented the defenceleſs ſtate of Calais, and urged the archduke to aſpire to that important acquiſition. Albert yielded to his ſuggeſtions, and entruſted the conduct of the enterpriſe to de Ronè himſelf, whoſe bold and active genius, and diſtinguiſhed ſkill in war, eminently qualified him for the undertaking.

To deceive Henry, the archduke ſtill affected to meditate the relief of La Fere, and began his march towards that place, while de Ronè ſuddenly turned to Calais with a body of ſelect troops, and poſſeſſed himſelf, after a faint reſiſtance, of the two forts which commanded the entrance of the town and the harbour. He was quickly followed by Albert and his whole army; the ſuperior numbers of the Spaniards ſoon penetrated into the ſuburbs and occupied the town; and the caſtle alone reſiſted the arms of the beſiegers. To reinforce the garriſon of that fortreſs, Matalet, governor of Foix, had opened a paſſage for himſelf and three hundred companions through the lines of the enemy. But even this additional force was not capable of withſtanding

ing the attacks of the Spaniards, and Henry endured the mortification of beholding the banners of Spain diſplayed from the citadel of Calais, at the moment that he had advanced from La Fere at the head of his cavalry to the ſupport of the beſieged.

Henry immediately returned to preſs the ſiege of La Fere, while the archduke, after repairing the fortifications of Calais, led his troops againſt the town of Ardres. The ſtrength of that place, it was reaſonably expected, might have reſiſted the arms of the Spaniards till La Fere had ſurrendered; and the garriſon at firſt diſplayed their valour in repeated vigorous ſallies; but no ſooner had the troops of Spain poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſuburbs, than the marquis of Belin, who commanded in Ardres, baſely yielding to his fears, propoſed to his officers to capitulate. Though the propoſal was rejected with diſdain by the majority of the council, yet the marquis availed himſelf of his ſuperior authority, offered to open his gates on condition that the garriſon ſhould march out with the honours of war; Albert readily agreed; and the capitulation was ſigned the day that preceded the ſurrender of La Fere.

From that place the king of France had rapidly preſſed forwards with an army, ſwelled by the zeal of his nobility, and with the moſt ſanguine expectations of raiſing the ſiege of Ardres. His hopes were clouded by the mortifying intelligence of the ſhameful capitulation of the marquis of Belin; with the approbation of his principal officers, he ſtill however continued to advance to compel his enemy if poſſible to give battle; but Albert, after placing ſtrong garriſons in the towns he had taken, and unwilling to hazard a deciſive engagement with Henry, retired from the dominions of France into the province of Artois; and the king, after taking the caſtle of Imbercourt by aſſault, and making an ineffectual

fectual attempt on Arras, returned to his capital, and left mareſchal Biron, with a body of ſix thouſand troops, to ſecure the frontiers of Picardy.

That enterpriſing officer did not long confine his operations to the cautious ſyſtem which had been recommended to him. He entered the province of Artois, retaliated on that country the injuries of France, and ſpread the terror of his arms along the ſouthern frontier of the Netherlands. The archduke had for ſome time been employed in the ſiege of Hulſt, but no ſooner had he accompliſhed the reduction of that place, than he detached the marquis of Verambon, with a conſiderable body of forces, to check the deſtructive progreſs of the French. Biron informed that the marquis was on his march to offer battle, advanced rapidly to meet him; his ſkilful evolutions confounded and vanquiſhed his antagoniſt; the Spaniards deluded into an ambuſcade, were routed with conſiderable ſlaughter, and Verambon himſelf became a captive to the French; the duke d'Arſchot, who was appointed to ſucceed him, and to reſtore the honour of the Spaniſh arms, though he avoided the fate of his predeceſſor, was reduced to remain a ſpectator of the deſtruction of the country, which the cavalry of Biron ſtill continued to inſult and ravage till the approach of winter compelled them to retire.

The ſatisfaction which Henry derived from the ſucceſs of his generals, was alloyed by the factious and aſpiring diſpoſition of his nobles. The eaſy temper of the duke of Montpenſier recommended him to the nobility of France as a proper repreſentative to carry their injurious propoſals to the throne. The duke, in an audience from Henry, ſtudiouſly dwelt on the dangerous ſtate of the kingdom, and the difficulties that ſtill obſtructed the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity; he added, one meaſure ſtill remained; to reſign to the different gover-

nors

nors the hereditary right of the provinces they preſided over, and to require of them only homage and allegiance; the zeal and gratitude of theſe dependant princes would for ever attach them to his ſervice, and the troops, they would conſtantly maintain for his ſupport, would enable him to triumph over his foreign enemies. The king remained ſome moments in ſilent indignation, but no ſooner had the emotions of anger and aſtoniſhment ſubſided, than he declared his reſolution rather to ſubmit to the moſt adverſe fortune, than conſent to a propoſal that would fix only an empty ſceptre in his hand, and reduce him to the ſhadow of royalty. His reproaches awakened the duke of Montpenſier to a juſt ſenſe of his temerity; he implored the forgiveneſs of his ſovereign; and by his future fidelity diſconcerted the deſigns of thoſe who had allured him to act a part ſo unworthy a prince of the blood.

Joyeuſe, who had quitted the habit of a monk to reſume that of a ſoldier, now with the ſame facility deſerted the declining fortunes of the league, opened the gates of Thouloufe, and returned to his allegiance to his ſovereign. The duke of Nemours had already entertained the ſame intention, when his negociations were interrupted by the ſtroke of death; his brother however continued the treaty that he had began, and reconciled himſelf to the crown; but while the king from theſe examples flattered himſelf with the hourly expectations of beholding the royal authority firmly eſtabliſhed, his fortitude was ſeverely exerciſed by an unexpected diſaſter that cooled the ardour of his newly acquired friends, and revived the fainting hopes of the league. A. D. 1597.

Amiens, the capital of Picardy, had lately ſubmitted to the king of France, and the citizens with their ancient privileges, had obtained an exemption from being garriſoned by regular troops; their ſubſequent

ſequent conduct proved how unworthy they were of the honourable truſt repoſed in them. Of fifteen thouſand inhabitants who were enrolled, only a few were employed as centinels and guards, and even thoſe performed their duty in the moſt remiſs manner. Their negligence had not eſcaped the knowledge of Portocarrero, governor of Dourlens, an officer brave and enterpriſing, and who, encouraged by the vicinity of his ſituation, planned a ſcheme for ſurpriſing Amiens. With three thouſand horſe and foot he marched from Dourlens, and, concealed by the darkneſs of the night, reached at dawn an hermitage about a quarter of a mile from the capital of Picardy. Twelve of his moſt reſolute ſoldiers, diſguiſed as peaſants, and with arms beneath their frocks, were ſent forwards as ſoon as the gates of the city were opened; ſome nuts which they carried, and affected accidentally to ſpill, amuſed the guards; a waggon which they had driven, and intentionally ſtopt in the gateway, prevented the portcullis from being let down; they fell with fury on the aſtoniſhed centinels, were ſoon ſupported by Portocarrero, and his troops, who ruſhed forwards to join them; and after a feeble reſiſtance, and the ſlaughter of about an hundred citizens, Amiens ſubmitted to the arms of the Spaniards.

The loſs of a city ſo ſtrong, ſo well provided, and ſo near to Paris, ſtruck Henry with conſternation. Calais, one of his principal ſea-ports, was already in the poſſeſſion of Spain, and by their preſent conqueſt, the forces of Philip might extend their incurſions to the very gates of his capital. Though labouring under a ſevere indiſpoſition, the conſequence of his too licentious amours, the king renounced the care of his perſon, to provide for the defence of his kingdom; he determined to poſtpone every other conſideration to the recovery of Amiens. and immediately ordered mareſchal Biron to inveſt the

the town with whatever forces he could draw from the neighbouring garriſons, while he himſelf returned to Paris to provide the neceſſary ſupplies for the proſecution of this enterpriſe.

The abilities of the baron de Roſny, to whom Henry had entruſted the regulation of his finances, ſurmounted every obſtacle, and repleniſhed the exhauſted coffers of his ſovereign; the zeal of the duke of Mayenne was eminently diſplayed to ſecond the efforts of a monarch whom he had ſo long oppoſed; the friendſhip of Elizabeth had reinforced him with four thouſand troops; and the indefatigable induſtry of the mareſchal Biron, jealous of the preſence of the king, and inſatiate of military fame, had already rendered the blockade complete, and rapidly advanced the ſiege, when Henry himſelf joined the army. Conſcious of the haughty ſpirit of Biron, he ſuffered him ſtill to retain the command; but though the beſiegers carried on their operations with redoubled ardour and alacrity, yet the garriſon diſputed every inch of ground with incredible obſtinacy; the death of Portocarrero, who fell in a deſperate ſally, diminiſhed not their confidence, and the defence was conducted with the ſame ſkill and ſpirit as before by the marquis de Montenegro.

Henry already had ſtruggled for five months with every difficulty that the experience or courage of the beſieged could oppoſe, when he was at length alarmed by the approach of the archduke, who, at the command of Philip, with an army of twenty-five thouſand men, preſſed forwards to the relief of Amiens, and appeared in ſight of the French camp; the mareſchal Biron, tranſported by his uſual ardour, adviſed the king to accept their offer of battle; his counſel was oppoſed by the cautious remonſtrances of the duke of Mayenne: "Sire," ſaid he, "you came to take Amiens, and not to fight."

"fight." Henry for once preferred the voice of prudence to that of glory; he kept within his intrenchments; the archduke, after ineffectually endeavouring to provoke him to action, retired to Arras, and reſigned Amiens to its fate, which ſoon after ſurrendered to the French.

From the reduction of Amiens, and inſulting the province of Artois, Henry turned his arms againſt Dourlens; the vigilance of Albert had already provided that city with every thing neceſſary to its defence, and the king had ſcarce commenced the ſiege before he repented of his enterpriſe. The troops were haraſſed by the fatigues they had ſuſtained before Amiens; diſeaſes and diſcontent began to prevail through the camp; the works were retarded by a ſeries of unfavourable weather; and the roads naturally heavy, by inceſſant rains were rendered impaſſable to the artillery; the king, convinced of his error, abandoned the hopeleſs attempt; and after diſbanding the majority of his forces, and leaving his cavalry for the defence of the frontier, he returned to Paris.

A. D 1598. The greateſt part of the kingdom had acknowledged the authority of Henry, but in Brittany the league ſtill nouriſhed the flames of ſedition, and the fire was ſecretly fed by the counſels and influence of Philip duke of Mercœur, of the houſe of Lorrain. For two ſucceſſive years that prince, while he profeſſed the moſt profound reſpect for the throne, had maintained a proud and dangerous independence; but the king, determined to extinguiſh theſe ſparks of civil commotion, aſſembled his forces on the return of ſpring, and had already advanced to Angers, when his further progreſs was rendered unneceſſary by the ſubmiſſion of the ſtates of Brittany and the duke of Mercœur. The former expelled the Spaniards from the few towns they ſtill held, and reſtored the royal authority;

authority; the latter, while he implored the clemency of his ſovereign, intereſted in his favour the fair Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, the favourite miſtreſs of Henry. The duke offered to beſtow the hand of his daughter, the heireſs of his vaſt eſtates, on Cæſar, the natural ſon of that lady by Henry. The nuptials were celebrated with princely magnificence at Angers; the ſubmiſſive proteſtations of the duke of Mercœur were accepted; and his former errors were conſigned to oblivion.

The recovery of Amiens and the extinction of the league, opened the eyes of Philip to the vanity of thoſe flattering dreams of conqueſt by which he had been ſo long deluded. His advanced age and broken health warned him of his approaching end, and he was unwilling to leave his inexperienced ſucceſſor involved in a bloody and dangerous war. Peace on the other hand was no leſs deſirable to Henry, and ſome reſpite was required to cloſe the wounds under which his kingdom had bled for ſo many years. The mediation of Clement, as the common father of both princes, was accepted; at the requeſt of the Roman pontiff a congreſs was held by the plenipotentiaries of France and Spain at Vervins, a town in Picardy; though the queen of England and the ſtates of Holland offered Henry the moſt effectual ſupport for the continuance of the war, he declined, with every profeſſion of gratitude, a ſyſtem which he declared muſt end in the utter ruin of his kingdom; and after ſeveral difficulties which the zeal of Clement was ſucceſſfully employed in removing, Henry ſigned a peace, by which he relinquiſhed indeed his claims on Cambray, but obtained the reſtitution of Calais, Ardres, Dourlens, and all the towns in France, that Philip had acquired at the expence of ſo much blood and treaſure.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Character of Margaret of Valois—Domeſtic Uneaſineſs of Henry—His Connection with Gabrielle d'Eſtrees—Her Death—War with the Duke of Savoy—Divorce and Marriage of Henry—Conſpiracy and Fate of the Mareſchal Biron—Death of Elizabeth, Queen of England—Submiſſion of the Duke of Bouillon—Paſſion of Henry for the Princeſs of Condé—His Deſigns againſt the Houſe of Auſtria—His Aſſaſſination by Ravilliac.

A. D. 1598. THE peace of Vervins had reſtored tranquillity to the ſubjects of France; but the amiable qualities of Henry could not enſure that happineſs in private life, that his courage and conſtancy had commanded in public. Previous to the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, he had formed a political union with Margaret, ſiſter to Charles the Ninth, and Henry the Third; a princeſs who united all the virtues and vices of the family of Valois, from whence ſhe ſprung. The beauty of her perſon inſpired paſſion and deſire in the coldeſt boſom; her genius and imagination were celebrated by all the poets of her time; ſhe ſung and played on the lute with exquiſite ſkill; and in dancing no lady of the court was her equal; but ſo violent was her love of pleaſure, that at twelve years old ſhe had ſacrificed to it her honour; Entragues, Charry, the prince of Martigues, and the duke of Guiſe, had been ſucceſſively admitted to her moſt intimate favours, previous to her marriage with Henry; and mingling the fervours of religion, with the exceſſes of diſſipation, her hours afterwards were alternately occupied by enthuſiaſtic devotion, and unreſtrained ſenſuality.

While

While Margaret ſtretched her dominion over the multitude that admired and adored her, ſhe had never been able to touch the heart of Henry, on whom indeed, at the command of her brother Charles, ſhe had beſtowed her hand with extreme reluctance, and to whom her irregularities were no ſecret. That monarch, who had broken the formidable confederacy of the league, and affixed bounds to the ambition of Spain, was himſelf the captive of the fair. His character bore a ſtriking reſemblance to that of Francis the Firſt; and he was always flattered and charmed by the compariſon. Like Francis, he had early engaged in a variety of promiſcuous amours: but for ſome time paſt, his unlimited homage had been paid to the fair Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, on whom he had ſucceſſively beſtowed the titles of marchioneſs of Monceaux and ducheſs of Beaufort. Two ſons and a daughter were the fruits of their illicit commerce; and Henry, deſirous of eſtabliſhing in his offspring the peaceable ſucceſſion of the crown, even entertained thoughts of legitimating his natural children, and dividing his throne with the miſtreſs of his affections.

The queen, who for ſeveral years had reſided at Uſſon, a caſtle in Auvergne, had already conſented to the diſſolution of a marriage, the effect of conſtraint; and the Roman pontiff readily liſtened to a meaſure calculated to promote the future tranquillity of France; yet both Margaret and Clement expreſſed the moſt pointed diſapprobation, when informed that the ducheſs of Beaufort was intended to be raiſed to the vacant bed of Henry. The paſſion of the king would probably have triumphed over all oppoſition, and have placed the crown on the head of his miſtreſs, when his fame was preſerved from this degrading inſtance of weakneſs, by an event as deciſive as it was unexpected. While the ducheſs of Beaufort, in the vigour of health and A. D. 1599.

pride of beauty, feaſted her imagination with the grandeur of royalty, the viſionary proſpect was diſſolved by the hand of death. In the abſence of Henry ſhe was ſuddenly ſeized with convulſions, and expired a ſpectacle too horrid for deſcription.

Henry, on the intelligence of her fate, abandoned himſelf to all the tranſports of ſorrow; but that conſolation, which was vainly proffered by the attention of his courtiers, he derived from time and the duties of his ſtation. His ancient and inveterate enemy, Philip, had ſunk into the grave; but the latent embers of commotion, which ſtill lurked in the boſom of France, required all the care of the monarch to extinguiſh. Previous to the peace of Vervins, he had endeavoured to ſecure the tranquillity of the proteſtants by the celebrated edict of Nantz. It granted to the reformed, all the favours in which they had been indulged by former princes, and added a free admiſſion to all employments of truſt, profit, and honour; an eſtabliſhment of chambers of juſtice, in which the members of the two religions were equal; and permiſſion to educate their children, without reſtraint, in any of the univerſities. Yet even theſe liberal conditions could not entirely baniſh that jealouſy which the hugonots had conceived on the king's abandoning their faith; and already their intrigues had reached the ear, and awakened the vigilance of Henry.

On the death of the ducheſs of Beaufort, Margaret had profeſſed an entire obedience to the will of her royal conſort, and Clement had pronounced her marriage, as the effect of conſtraint, illegal and void; but the king was diverted from the immediate thoughts of a ſecond union, by a paſſion for Henriette de Balzac, daughter to de Balzac Entragues, by Mary Touchet, the celebrated miſtreſs of Charles the Ninth; to this lady Henry transferred that affection which he had ſo lately vowed to the

the ducheſs of Beaufort; he created her marchioneſs of Verneuil, and even delivered to her a promiſe of marriage; yet the moments allotted to pleaſure, diminiſhed not his application to buſineſs, and the intrigues of the duke of Savoy ſummoned him from the embraces of his miſtreſs to the cares of a throne.

The duke of Savoy, emboldened by the late diſtracted ſtate of France, had embraced the moment of civil commotion to poſſeſs himſelf of the Marquiſate of Saluces. On the treaty of Vervins, he had agreed to ſubmit his pretenſions to the arbitration of pope Clement; but had conſtantly eluded a deciſion, which he was conſcious muſt deſpoil him of the territory that he had thus daringly uſurped. Truſting to the arts of negociation, and the addreſs for which he was eminent, he embraced the reſolution of preſenting himſelf at Paris, and treating with Henry in perſon. Though the king would readily have diſpenſed with, he could not decently decline, the honour of the propoſed viſit; and in a court gallant, profuſe, and ſplendid, the magnificence, liberality, and conciliating manners of the duke, ſoon attached to his intereſt the principal favourites and miſtreſſes of Henry. The marchioneſs of Verneuil eſpouſed his pretenſions with ardour; but the mind of Henry was ſteeled againſt the importunities of that lady, by a juſt ſenſe of the dignity of his crown, and by the remonſtrances of his miniſter, the baron de Roſny, whoſe inflexible integrity was ſuperior to all the allurements of corruption.

After laviſhing the immenſe ſum of four hundred thouſand crowns in preſents to the rapacious minions of a court, the duke of Savoy retired from Paris, and prepared to aſſert by arms, what he had vainly hoped to have acquired by negociation. He had indeed already entered into a cloſe and ſecret connection with the mareſchal de Biron; but the military ardour and vanity of that commander A. D. 1600.

commander could not be reſtrained even by the intereſt of his new ally. The duke of Savoy in an inſtant beheld Breſſe, Savoy, and Nice, deluged by the forces of France; Miolans ſurrendered to the king; the baron de Roſny, whom Henry had appointed grand maſter of artillery, reduced Montmelian, a fortreſs which the duke had conſidered as impregnable; and St. Catherine's, in the ſtrength of which he equally confided, was, in the depth of winter, taken by the mareſchal de Biron. Theſe ſucceſſive diſaſters humbled the haughty ſpirit of the duke; and overwhelmed in the unequal conflict, and deſerted by the court of Spain, which had promiſed to ſupport him, he reſumed the thoughts of peace; and implored the mediation of the pope to extricate him from a war in which he had thus raſhly engaged.

The ardent paſſion of Henry for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and the miſery that he had experienced in his former marriage, rendered him extremely averſe to a ſecond. The remonſtrances of his miniſters, and his concern for the public welfare, had reluctantly extorted from him permiſſion to negociate an union with Mary de Medicis, niece to the grand duke of Tuſcany. Senſible of his irreſolution, the commiſſioners on whom he had devolved this important truſt, haſtened to conclude it. Their zeal outſtripped the wiſhes and expectations of Henry; and he heard, with mingled regret and ſurpriſe, that they had ſigned a treaty of marriage with that princeſs. His own honour and the happineſs of his people allowed him not to retract; he haſtened to Lyons to receive the hand of Mary; and whatever might be his private feelings, he diſcovered to his royal conſort no emotions but thoſe of reſpect and regard.

A. D. 1601. The marriage of Henry was followed by a treaty with the duke of Savoy, who,

who, disappointed in that assistance which he expected from Spain, and equally deprived of that aid with which he had flattered himself from the discontents of the factious nobles of France, found himself no longer able to support the unequal contest; for the marquisate of Saluces, which he was permitted to retain, he consented to cede to Henry the country of Bresse, an extensive territory on the banks of the Rhone, and to pay one hundred thousand crowns to defray the expences of the war.

Yet while the duke submitted to the arms of France, he did not relinquish the intrigues that he had entered into with the aspiring chiefs of that kingdom. The principal of these were the dukes d'Bouillon d'Epernon, and the mareschal Biron. That celebrated commander, whose splendid exploits eclipsed the military fame of his father, and who openly boasted that his arm had fixed the sceptre in the hand of Henry, had long secretly laboured to undermine the edifice that his valour had erected, and his blood cemented. Born for the camp, he delighted in war, and excelled in every martial exercise; but the restless soldier disdained the calm acquisition of science; and while he aspired to the highest honours of the state, was almost as illiterate as the meanest centinel. In action he was brave, indefatigable, vigilant, and abstemious; but with his armour he seemed to lay aside every virtue, and displayed a disposition, vain, envious, and arrogant; no revenue was sufficient to supply his boundless extravagance; and his fatal attachment to gaming, is reported to have swallowed, within the compass of one year, the immense sum of five hundred thousand crowns. His correspondence with the duke of Savoy, had not entirely escaped the vigilant eye of Henry; and at Lyons that monarch had reproached him with his seditious designs. Biron affected frankly to confess the imprudence of his conduct.

His

His profeſſions of repentance, and his proteſtations of future fidelity, diſarmed the indignation of his ſovereign, mindful of former ſervices. By a large pecuniary donative, Henry endeavoured to awaken his gratitude; and ſenſible that his active ſpirit could ill brook a life of indolence, he ſtrove to divert him from the dangerous practices that he had engaged in, by appointing him, firſt ambaſſador to Elizabeth, and afterwards to the Swiſs Cantons.

A. D. 1601. 1602. The birth of a ſon, while it afforded a ſource of domeſtic ſatisfaction to Henry, and opened to his people the pleaſing proſpect of a peaceable ſucceſſion, ſerved at the ſame time to quicken the deſigns of thoſe, who, impatient of tranquil rule, aſſociated in the moſt formidable cabals againſt the throne. The mareſchal Biron had no ſooner returned from executing the commiſſions that had been entruſted to him, than he reſumed with redoubled ardour his ambitious projects; he entered into an alliance with the courts of Spain and Turin; he cloſely connected himſelf with the duke of Bouillon, who, by his marriage, had obtained the principality of Sedan; and united in his treaſonable enterpriſe, Charles count d'Auvergne, grand prior of France, and natural ſon to Charles the Ninth. Haughty and ſupercilious in his natural demeanour, Biron now affected the garb of courteſy, and aſſiduouſly laboured to ingratiate himſelf in the hearts of the multitude. The improper nomination to eccleſiaſtical dignities, at the influence of the miſtreſs of the king; the public neglect of the reformed, by a prince who had abjured their tenets, and who meditated their extirpation; but above all, the numerous impoſts which were daily multiplied by the ſovereign on an oppreſſed people, were the favourite topics of the mareſchal, and were induſtriouſly circulated by his adherents in factious murmurs through the provinces. The ſeditious vapour ſoon ſpread itſelf

ſelf over the countries of Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Guienne, and Languedoc; the animated countenance of Henry was clouded with anxiety; gaiety and pleaſure were baniſhed from a court long diſtinguiſhed by its ſuperior gallantry and ſplendour; and the brooding tempeſt of revolt was foretold by every indication of ſuſpicion and diſcontent.

The ſplendid proſpects that Biron contemplated in the conſciouſneſs of his own military talents, and the power and influence of his confederates, were blaſted by one fatal inſtance of miſplaced confidence, La Fin, a native of Burgundy, and deſcended from a reſpectable family in that province, was diſtinguiſhed by a diſpoſition, daring, indefatigable, and intriguing. He had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the mareſchal, and had been employed both by Biron, and the duke of Bouillon, in their moſt ſecret negociations with Spain and Savoy; but he had lately regarded with jealouſy the aſcendancy which the baron de Lux had acquired over the mind of his patron; and in a moment of diſguſt, he revealed to Henry the whole of a conſpiracy, the wheels of which he was no longer permitted to direct.

The king read with aſtoniſhment the black ſcrowl, which contained the names of the moſt illuſtrious nobles of France. Some of theſe had actually embarked in the daring projects of Biron; others, by their known diſcontent, had afforded reaſon to expect they would join the ſtandard of revolt, as ſoon as it was erected; and the remainder were probably added by the creative genius of La Fin, deſirous of magnifying the importance of his perfidy: yet the danger was great and immediate; and the king determined to viſit the different provinces of Poitiers, Limoſin, and Guienne, to awe by his preſence the ſeditious ſpirit of the people, and to obtain more perfect information of the ſchemes of the mareſchal. Each

day

day convinced him, that he tottered on the brink of a precipice; and after a ſhort reſidence at Blois, he returned to Fontainbleau, determined to cruſh the infant conſpiracy, before it was ſtrengthened by the troops and treaſures of Spain and Savoy.

On his return from Switzerland, the mareſchal Biron had retired to his government of Burgundy, and diligently applied himſelf to ſecure and ſtrengthen the moſt important cities in that province. Confiding in the affection of the inhabitants, and in the fidelity of thoſe to whom he had entruſted the command of the fortified places, he conſidered that country as an immediate retreat, ſhould his deſigns be diſcovered before his confederates were prepared to ſupport him; but of this reſource he was deprived by an artifice of the baron de Roſny; under pretence of new-caſting the cannon throughout Burgundy, that miniſter, as grand-maſter, had obtained from the mareſchal the artillery which belonged to his government; but no ſooner were theſe tranſported beyond the juriſdiction of Biron, than Roſny ſtopped the new, with which he had promiſed to replace them. The rage of Biron on this occaſion broke forth in open menaces, and his ſuſpicions were ſoon after awakened by intelligence of the private conference that La Fin had held with the king; but he ſuffered himſelf again to be deluded by that traitor's proteſtations that he had not betrayed him, and that Henry was by no means appriſed of his deſigns. He was alſo conſcious, that ſhould his ſovereign march againſt him, and declare him a rebel, he was no longer capable of reſiſtance; actuated by the powerful motives of hope and fear, he obeyed the royal ſummons, and with his aſſociate, the count d'Auvergne, repaired to the court at Fontainbleau.

The mind of Henry, on the arrival of the mareſchal, was ſuſpended by the conflicting paſſions of gratitude and reſentment. When he called to remembrance

membrance the former ſervices of Biron, and the dangers that they had ſhared together, his feelings drowned the ſtern voice of juſtice, and he determined to pardon the ambition of a man to whoſe valour he had been ſo eminently indebted; but when the calamities of civil war, from which his kingdom had ſcarce emerged, preſented themſelves to his view; when he conſidered the welfare of his people, and the infant ſtate of his ſon, both endangered by the reſtleſs and turbulent diſpoſition of Biron, the duty of a ſovereign and the affection of a parent, loudly exhorted him to conſult the happineſs of millions, by the ſacrifice of one obnoxious perſon: yet he beheld the unhappy victim with tenderneſs and compaſſion; and while he treated him with every mark of regard, he endeavoured, in converſation, to lead him to a full confeſſion of his guilt, and to juſtify the clemency that he ſtill panted to exerciſe, by his ſincerity and contrition.

Yet the friendly admonitions of the monarch could not bend a temper naturally ſtubborn and haughty; encouraged by the aſſurances of La Fin, the mareſchal maintained a ſullen reſerve, and aſſumed the tone of inſulted integrity; he perſevered in declaring, that ſince the confeſſion at Lyons, he had nothing to accuſe his conſcience with; and Henry, fatigued with unavailing exhortations, at length reſolved to give way to the courſe of juſtice; mareſchal Biron and the count d'Auvergne were arreſted as they withdrew from the king's apartment, and were conveyed to the Baſtile. A commiſſion was directed to the parliament to examine into their conduct; and the proofs of their guilt were clear and poſitive; the very treaty with Spain, which Biron had ſubſcribed, and which he firmly believed that La Fin had deſtroyed, was produced againſt him. His judges unanimouſly, though reluctantly, pronounced ſentence of death. The intreaties of his friends prevailed

vailed on the king to change the place of execution; he was beheaded in the court of the Baſtile; and in his laſt moments, diſgraced by alternate ſallies of rage, and agonies of terror, the character of Intrepid, which he had acquired amidſt the greateſt dangers of war.

The count d'Auvergne had been involved in the ſame ſentence as the mareſchal Biron; but regard for the brother of his miſtreſs, the marchioneſs of Verneuil, and reſpect for the laſt male deſcendant of the race of Valois, induced Henry not only to grant him his life, but alſo to alleviate the rigour of his confinement, and at length inſenſibly to reſtore him to freedom; a clemency which the ſubſequent intrigues of the count repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude. Of the other conſpirators, the principal threw themſelves at the feet of the ſovereign, who not only freely pardoned their imprudence, but even concealed from reproach their names; the multitude found ſhelter in their numbers and obſcurity; and the baron de Fontenelles alone, by a public and painful death, was doomed to atone for his treaſonable intention of delivering the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards.

It was not alone in detecting the dangerous deſigns of his foreign and domeſtic enemies, that the vigilance of Henry was exerciſed; the internal regulation of his kingdom claimed and obtained his unwearied attention. Regularity was introduced into the finances, by the integrity and induſtry of his favourite miniſter, the baron de Roſny; new manufactures were eſtabliſhed, colonies planted, commerce extended, and agriculture reſtored; the rage of duelling, which had proved mortal to ſome of the moſt gallant ſpirits of France, was at the ſame time reſtrained by new edicts; but it could not be diſguiſed, that the king, educated in camps, and impreſſed with lively notions of honour, too often

often ſanctioned by his expreſſions that fatal practice which his laws were framed to expreſs.

The tempeſt of civil commotion, which had alarmed France, was alſo felt in England. The conſpiracy and execution of the mareſchal de Biron, was preceded by the preſumption and fate of Eſſex, the favourite of Elizabeth; but though the queen, jealous of her authority, ſigned his final doom, ſhe never could eraſe from her heart that fond partiality, which ſhe had ever evinced towards him. Oppreſſed by a ſorrow which ſhe affected to conceal, but which inceſſantly preyed upon her body, her frail conſtitution at length gave way to the emotions of her mind. During the latter hours of her life, the pride of royalty was overwhelmed by the torrent of returning affection; for ſeveral days ſhe rejected all conſolation, and even refuſed food and ſuſtenance. The few words ſhe uttered were all expreſſive of ſome inward grief that ſhe cared not to reveal; and in the ſeventieth year of her age, ſhe cloſed a reign of vigour, conſtancy, vigilance, and addreſs, the victim of a romantic paſſion, ſcarce credible in a love-ſick girl. A. D 1603.

Henry, who had ever entertained the moſt profound ſentiments of regard and reſpect for Elizabeth, and who had concerted with that princeſs the depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria, deplored the death of his old and faithful ally with a ſincerity ſeldom found in royal boſoms. His cloſe connections with England rendered it of importance to him to acquire a thorough knowledge of the diſpoſition of her ſucceſſor; and he diſpatched the Marquis de Roſny to congratulate James the Firſt, who, by his acceſſion to the throne, united the dominions of England and Ireland to thoſe of Scotland; the feeble and temporizing diſpoſition of that monarch, could not be concealed from the penetrating geniu: of Roſny;

Roſny; always negociating, and never daring to act, he ſuffered that power to become contemptible in his hands, which might have commanded the reſpect of the haughty Spaniard, and repreſſed the overweening arrogance of the houſe of Auſtria. Enamoured of peace, he conſidered the attainment of it as the only true object of a ſtateſman's labours; and though he agreed with Roſny ſecretly to ſupport the united ſtates, in concert with the king of France, leſt their weakneſs ſhould oblige them to ſubmit to their old maſter, yet that miniſter ſoon acquainted Henry, that he muſt not too implicitly depend on the exertions of a prince who continually expreſſed his dread leſt he ſhould be reproached as the abettor of rebels.

A. D. 1604. Wearied by inceſſant importunities, the king of France conſented to reſtore the jeſuits, and to demoliſh the pillar which had been erected to perpetuate the atrocious attempt of Chatel, and the dangerous principles of the order he belonged to. But this freſh inſtance of the placable diſpoſition of the ſovereign could not extinguiſh the embers of diſcontent which ſtill lurked in his kingdom. The duke of Bouillon had deeply engaged in the conſpiracy of the mareſchal Biron, and to avoid the ſtorm which he beheld gathering, had retired to his principality of Sedan; he now reſumed his correſpondence with the court of Spain and with the count d'Auvergne. That nobleman, unmindful of the clemency which he had ſo lately experienced, involved in his intrigues his ſiſter the marchioneſs of Verneuil, the favourite miſtreſs of the king, and her father Francis d'Entragues, on whom Henry had beſtowed the rank of mareſchal, as the price of the promiſe of marriage he had imprudently given to the daughter. Their deſigns were detected and diſconcerted by the vigilance of Henry. The marchioneſs of Verneuil was for ſome days

days confined to her houſe; but the paſſion of the man triumphed over the juſtice of the ſovereign, and Henry ſoon flew to proſtrate himſelf at the feet of the haughty beauty whoſe chains he found it impoſſible to break; D'Entragues, who had been condemned to loſe his head, was indebted for his life to the charms of his daughter; and the protecting influence of the fair was even extended to her brother the count d'Auvergne, whoſe ſentence of expiating his repeated guilt on a public ſcaffold, was commuted to the milder doom of perpetual impriſonment.

But when the vigorous mind of Henry A. D. 1605.
was not faſcinated by the charms of female beauty, he well knew how to render his authority reſpected by his ſubjects, and to curb the wild deſigns of ingratitude and ambition. The duke of Bouillon for four ſucceſſive years had evaded every ſummons to appear at court, and the king determined by his preſence to humble that haughty ſubject. He directed his courſe through the counties of Auvergne and Limoſin; and Bouillon, aſtoniſhed at the rapid approach of his ſovereign, and unprepared for reſiſtance, ordered the governors of the different towns that belonged to him to open their gates, and diſarmed the immediate reſentment of Henry by the apparent ſincerity of his ſubmiſſion.

But Henry had ſcarce returned to Paris A. D. 1606.
before he was juſtly incenſed by repeated inſtances of the duke's reſtleſs and diſcontented diſpoſition. It was with reluctance that he prepared to reduce by arms a man whom the proteſtants looked up to as the chief of their religion, and from whom he himſelf had formerly received conſiderable ſervices. But the preſent tranquillity of his kingdom, and the ſucceſs of the lofty deſigns that he began already to meditate, all concurred in prompting

ing him to meaſures the moſt vigorous and deciſive. With a train of artillery, which he entruſted to the command of his miniſter Roſny, whom on this occaſion he created duke of Sully, and with a ſmall but well appointed body of veteran forces, the king of France preſſed forwards to Sedan. To the laſt moment the vanity of the duke of Bouillon had ſuggeſted to him the language of reſiſtance; but with the approach of danger, the haughty ſpirit of that nobleman began to ſubſide; the inſincerity of Spain he was too well acquainted with; and the proteſtants, inſtead of arming in his defence, flocked to the royal ſtandard; nothing now remained but to ſubmit to a power with which it would have been madneſs to have contended; in the generous and clement diſpoſition of his ſovereign, he ſtill found that reſource which his obſtinacy allowed him little reaſon to expect; the inhabitants of Sedan, with the duke, took the oath of fidelity to the king of France; a royal garriſon and governor were to be maintained within the walls for four years; and Bouillon, after having ſo long defied, eſteemed himſelf happy in eſcaping, the vengeance of his prince on ſuch favourable conditions.

The good fortune which attended Henry in public, preſerved him alſo in private life. An unfortunate wretch, whom inſanity had impelled againſt the life of that monarch, was diſarmed by his attendants, and by the humanity of Henry was diſmiſſed to gentle confinement, and to that care which his melancholy ſituation required. In croſſing the river Neuilly, the royal carriage, by the ſpirit of the horſes, was precipitated from the ferry-boat, and overturned in the middle of the ſtream; the king, the queen, the duke of Vendoſme, and the princeſs of Conti were expoſed to the moſt imminent danger. They were reſcued by the zeal and alacrity of their retinue; and Henry himſelf, after

after ſafely gaining the ſhore, plunged again into the river to extricate his conſort.

But while the multitude exulted at the ſafety of a ſovereign whom they loved and revered, the royal boſom was doomed to experience thoſe cares which invade with impartial miſery the peace of the peaſant and the prince. The queen, cold and reſerved in her temper and manner, received with indifference, or repreſſed with diſguſt, the amorous aſſiduities of Henry. Her imprudent partiality to her Italian attendants was regarded with indignation by that monarch; and his own licentious amours, his open connection with the marchioneſs of Verneuil, too frequently furniſhed juſt cauſe for reproach. The inmoſt receſſes of the palace were diſturbed by their mutual and inceſſant complaints. The happineſs which Henry found not in the company and converſation of his queen, he ſought in the familiar ſociety of others; the arrogance of the marchioneſs of Verneuil had for ſome time paſt been inſufferable; and the lively wit, the amiable manners of Charlotte de Montmorency, the daughter of the conſtable, had inſenſibly ſtolen into his heart; yet he ſuffered not this paſſion, ardent as it was, and fatal as it probably afterwards proved, wholly to engroſs his mind. He renewed his ancient alliance with the United States of Holland; he aſſiduouſly cultivated the friendſhip of England; he ſucceſsfully interpoſed his mediation between the court of Rome and the Venetians; but he declined the importunate ſolicitatios of the Mooriſh inhabitants of Spain, who oppreſſed, and at length driven into exile by the miſtaken policy of Philip the Third, in vain implored an aſylum in the boſom of France. A. D. 1607. 1608.

The wiſdom of Henry has been ſeverely impeached in refuſing the proffered acceſſion of near half a million of induſtrious people, whoſe ſilent labours

might have fertiliſed the barren and deſerted plains of France, and repaired the fatal ravages which had been inflicted by religious commotion. The inclinations of this unhappy race to prefer the reformed to the catholic church, the perſecuting ſpirit of which they had already experienced, might perhaps in ſome meaſure influence the mind of Henry, long ſince grown diſtruſtful of the intrigues of the hugonots; perhaps he was determined by the dread of precipitating thoſe hoſtile deſigns which he ſecretly meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria, and which were yet ſcarcely ripe for execution. A conjecture which is rather ſtrengthened by the caution with which he continued to ſooth the jealouſy of the court of Spain, and the zeal which he diſplayed in negociating a truce with the United States and the archduke Albert. The tranquillity of his kingdom was reſtored; the ambition of his nobles had been ſeverely humbled; his magazines were filled; his coffers repleniſhed; order was introduced into his finances; diſcipline among his troops; and he beheld the moment rapidly approaching in which he might unfold the vaſt object of thoſe immenſe preparations which alarmed or aſtoniſhed all Europe.

A. D. 1609. But while the power, the experience, and the reputation of the monarch filled his enemies with terror, the paſſions of the man too often expoſed him to the cenſure and pity of his friends. Nor time, nor ambition could extinguiſh his fatal affection for Charlotte de Montmorency; ſecretly nouriſhing the deſtructive flame, he determined to beſtow the hand of that lady on the prince of Condé, and by introducing her into his own family, at leaſt to enjoy the ſatisfaction of her converſation. The marriage was celebrated without pomp at Chantilli, and it was the expreſſion of the marchioneſs of Verneuil, "that the king had made this

" match to ſink the heart, and to raiſe the head " of the prince of Condé." The paſſion of Henry ſoon burſt the bounds that his prudence had preſcribed. His looks, his words, his actions, inceſſantly betrayed the ardent emotions of his ſoul; the fire that conſtantly conſumed him could not be concealed from the prince, jealous of his own honour, and the fidelity of his wife. He deſired leave to retire from court, and the peremptory refuſal of the king ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions already entertained. His reſpect for his ſovereign was overwhelmed by a lively ſenſe of the injury intended; and after giving way to his indignation by the moſt pointed reproaches, he ſecretly prepared to eſcape with the princeſs beyond the limits of the kingdom, before the ungovernable paſſion of Henry had ſealed his diſhonour.

This deſign he executed with ſucceſs; reluctantly accompanied by his wife, and attended by a few domeſtics, he eluded the vigilance of thoſe who had been directed to obſerve him, and reached in ſafety Landrecy. The king received the intelligence of his flight with a tranſport of rage and grief that he was at no pains to conceal. He inſtantly diſpatched Praſlin, the captain of his guard, to demand the fugitives from the archduke; but Albert replied with becoming dignity, " that he had never viola- " ted the laws of nations on any occaſion whatever; " and that he would not begin with a prince of the " blood-royal of France." He immediately ſupplied the neceſſities of the prince of Condé with liberality, appointed an eſcort to conduct him to Bruſſels, and aſſured him of his conſtant protection.

The perſonal ſecurity of the prince did not entirely ſhield him from the effects of Henry's reſentment. After an ineffectual attempt to carry off the princeſs by force, at the command of the king the parliament paſſed an arret againſt the firſt prince of

the blood, and condemned him to undergo whatever puniſhment the ſovereign ſhould pleaſe to inflict; with this judicial proceſs the martial preparations of Henry kept pace; and the armaments which had been ſuggeſted by ambition were probably quickened by love. England, the independent princes of Germany, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands, all readily aſſociated in the deſign of humbling the houſe of Auſtria; the duke of Savoy conſented to relinquiſh that country to France, on condition of receiving the duchy of Milan; while the majority of the Italian ſtates profeſſed their deſire to accede to a confederacy, on which they flattered themſelves with the hope of founding a permanent tranquillity. When to allies ſo powerful, and ſo firmly engaged by intereſt in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, are added the reſources of France in a diſciplined and veteran army of forty thouſand men, a treaſure of forty millions of livres, and the high reputation and diſtinguiſhed abilities of her king, it cannot be wondered that the aſtoniſhment of viſionary ſtateſmen have conſidered the force ſo far exceeding the object as even to have attributed to Henry the immenſe but chimerical project of forming Europe into one great republic.

At length the death of the duke of Cleves gave the ſignal for action; his dominions which had been formed of four or five great fiefs, were claimed by the emperor Rodolph as ſupreme ſovereign, and he inſtantly beſtowed the inveſtiture of them on the archduke Leopold of Auſtria. But this arbitrary uſurpation was diſputed by the ſiſters of the late duke and their repreſentatives; the duke of Brandenburg and Pruſſia, the count palatine of Newburg, the count palatine of Deux Ponts, and the marquis of Burgaw, were arouſed by the ſecret and friendly aſſurances of France, to aſſert their right by arms, and to implore the protection of Henry.

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The king readily liſtened to ſolicitations which he himſelf had ſuggeſted. The A. D. 1610. conteſted territories ſtretched along the frontiers of his kingdom, and he was not inſenſible to the dangerous vicinity of the houſe of Auſtria; intereſt combined with honour in prompting him to a ſpeedy reſolution; and both perhaps were ſtimulated by the ſecret but ardent motives of affection; the prince of Condé ſtill boaſted the protection of the court of Spain, and the abſence of the princeſs had not allayed the flame that her charms had kindled in the boſom of Henry. That monarch declared his determination to lead an army to the ſupport of his German allies, and to vindicate with his forces and treaſures their pretenſions to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers. His road lay through the provinces of Flanders, and the archduke Albert, through whoſe country he demanded permiſſion to march, unprepared for reſiſtance, diſguiſed his hereditary enmity, and anſwered in terms or reſpectful acquieſcence.

The ſupine indifference with which the houſe of Auſtria affected to regard the combination of its moſt powerful and inveterate enemies, has given riſe to a ſuſpicion probably as deſtitute of foundation, as it is injurious to the honour of that family; and the ſubſequent fate of Henry has by more than one contemporary hiſtorian been aſcribed to the perfidious and ſanguinary principles which have diſgraced the councils of Spain, and which but a few years ſince involved the deſtruction of the prince of Orange. With more reaſon the deadly ſtroke may be imputed to that fanatical fury kindled by a long ſeries of religious commotion, and not extinguiſhed by the fleeting years of tranquillity which had ſucceeded the peace of Vervins. Whatever might be the ſource of an event, which has been ſo variouſly related by the immediate ſpectators, and which

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ſeems at the moment it happened to have eluded the reſearches of the moſt curious and intereſted, it is our duty from the maſs to ſelect thoſe circumſtances only which can inform the mind and guide the judgment of the reader.

Amidſt all his preparations, amidſt the moſt flattering proſpects of acquiring that glory which he had ſo long and ſo ardently panted after, the diſpoſition of Henry was viſibly impreſſed with a deep and ſettled melancholy. The blameable indulgence of the queen to her Italian attendants, had been often the ſubject of his open diſcontent, and he had more than once meditated the deſign of compelling the moſt obnoxious to repaſs the Alps. From this intention he was diverted by his confidential miniſter the duke of Sully; and in conformity to the advice of that ſtateſman, he endeavoured to gain on the cold and reſerved temper of the queen by acts of kindneſs and attention. That princeſs had expreſſed her deſire to be crowned before the king took the field; and Henry, though he regarded with diſguſt all pageantry and oſtentation, had conſented to gratify her wiſhes. The ceremony was performed on Thurſday the thirteenth of May with the utmoſt magnificence; the next Sunday was fixed for the public entry of the queen, and on the Wedneſday following Henry had determined to quit Paris, and to put himſelf at the head of his army.

But the final period of his life and greatneſs now rapidly approached; and while he meditated enterpriſes the moſt ſplendid and important, his own death was planned and executed by Francis Ravaillac, a native of Angouleme. From that province the unhappy wretch had directed his footſteps to the capital; and after endeavouring to obtain a miſerable ſubſiſtence as an obſcure retainer to the law, he had attempted to procure admiſſion among the

the order of Feuillants; but theſe rejected him as a wild and frantic viſionary; and his diſtreſs had already reduced him to ſeek ſupport by imploring alms, when he conceived the dark and deſperate deſign of mingling the miſeries of a nation with his own, by arming his hand againſt the ſovereign of France.

Though the king had acquieſced in a ceremony which he conſtantly diſapproved, and though he had endeavoured by the appearance of ſatisfaction to diffuſe through the court that joy which he felt not, his expreſſions but too clearly announced his gloomy preſages of his impending deſtiny. From his confidential miniſters and domeſtics he concealed not the load that preſſed upon his heart; and "you will ſoon know how kind a maſter you have "loſt," was the inceſſant and mournful exclamation. The morning that ſucceeded the coronation of the queen had been deſtined for a viſit to the arſenal; but the indiſpoſition of the duke of Sully induced the king to poſtpone his intention; he had already paſſed a ſleepleſs night, and with the return of light his apprehenſions and inquietude ſeemed every moment to increaſe. He attended maſs, and prayed with unuſual fervour; the pleaſures of the table diſſipated not his chagrin; and after a vain effort to compoſe himſelf to reſt, he ordered his coach, and, accompanied by the dukes of Epernon and Montbazon, the mareſchals Lavardin and Roquelaure, the marquiſſes de la Force and Mirabeau, and du Pleſſis Liancourt, his maſter of horſe determined to proceed to the arſenal; Vitry, the captain of his guards, was by his order diſpatched to the palace to haſten the preparations for the queen's entry; and the carriage was only attended by a ſmall number of gentlemen on horſeback, and a few of the royal footmen. The curtains on every ſide were drawn up that the king might witneſs the zeal of his

his ſubjects in the various ornaments they had prepared. In a narrow ſtreet the coach was ſtopped by the accidental meeting of two carts; the majority of the attendants inſtantly took a nearer way, and two footmen only were left; one went before to clear the paſſage, the other ſtaid behind to tie up his garter. At this inſtant, as the king turned to read a letter to the duke of Epernon, he received a ſtroke from a knife; he had ſcarce time to exclaim, "I am wounded," before a ſecond more violent and more fatally directed pierced his heart, and breathing only a deep ſigh, he ſunk back in the coach a lifeleſs corpſe.

Thus periſhed, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-firſt of his reign, Henry the Fourth, whoſe virtues and talents have juſtly entitled him to the honourable diſtinction of *Great*. His acceſſion preſented to our view a kingdom diſunited, a nobility haughty and diſcontented, a commonalty clamorous and oppreſſed. The broken provinces of the ſtate were cemented by his policy, the nobles were humbled by his valour, the commons were conciliated by his addreſs and relieved by his humanity. He firſt introduced order into the finances, and diſcipline into the armies of France; new manufactories were eſtabliſhed at his command, and new colonies planted; and while he reſtored peace and plenty at home, he rendered his kingdom great and formidable abroad. The power of Spain was checked by his courage and conduct; and at the moment of his death he meditated deſigns againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which had they been ſucceſsfully executed, would have finally precluded her from ever diſturbing again the tranquillity of Europe. In private life he was a kind and generous maſter; a warm and tender lover, a polite and obliging huſband; but the ſincerity of the hiſtorian will not allow him to conceal thoſe faults which he cannot but

but regret; the paſſion of Henry for the fair, too often induced him to forget the prudence and dignity of the monarch. His ardent and guilty affection for the princeſs of Condé in the decline of life, caſt a cloud over his meridian glory; and the warmth with which he purſued, and the indiſcretion with which he countenanced the fatal rage of gaming, has been the ſubject of ſevere and general cenſure.

Though the confuſion of the nobles who accompanied Henry allowed them not to ward the fatal blow, yet the moment their preſence of mind was returned, it was diſplayed in ſeizing the aſſaſſin, who ſtill ſupported himſelf on the wheel of the coach, with the bloody inſtrument yet reeking in his hand, as if glorying in the attrocious deed. The prudence of the duke of Epernon preſerved him from the immediate fury of the royal attendants, to periſh by the moſt exquiſite torments; while the ſame caution enabled him to quiet the tumultuous apprehenſions of the populace, by declaring that the king yet lived, and that they were carrying him to the Louvre to have his wounds dreſſed. The crowd inſtantly gave way, the body conveyed to the palace, was laid upon a bed, and was ſoon deſerted by the ungrateful many who had baſked in his favour, but who haſtened to proſtrate themſelves before the riſing ſun, and loſt the recollection of former benefits in their eagerneſs to ſolicit new.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Acceſſion of Lewis the Thirteenth—Regency of Mary of Medicis—Pretenſions of the Prince of Condé—Favour of Conchini, who aſſumes the name of Ancre Revolt and impriſonment of the prince of Condé—Aſſaſſination of the Mareſchal D'Ancre—Riſe of the duke of Luines—State of Germany—War between the king and his mother—Between the king and the Proteſtants—Death of the duke of Luines—Peace with the Proteſtants—Compromiſe of the Valtaline—Introduction of Cardinal Richelieu to the Cabinet.

WITH the life of Henry the Fourth were extinguiſhed the great deſigns that he had meditated againſt the houſe of Auſtria; and France beheld, with grief and terror, the ſceptre paſs from his vigorous graſp to the feeble hand of an infant. Of his three ſons by Mary of Medicis, the eldeſt, who now ſucceeded to the throne as Lewis the Thirteenth, was only in the ninth year of his age; and the two younger, though their birth might ſerve to ſtrengthen the ſucceſſion, could only be known by their different titles of dukes of Orleans and Anjou; but the queen, amidſt the diſmay of the court, waſted not the important moments in unavailing ſorrow; and the affliction, if any, that ſhe felt on the loſs of Henry, was ſwallowed up by the more intereſting care of obtaining the regency. Her ambition was gratified by the ready acquieſcence of the parliament, and in her perſon were united the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and the guardianſhip of her ſon.

The firſt moments had been employed in the acquiſition of power, the next were devoted to revenge. The wretched Ravaillac, whoſe guilty hand had

had precipitated the unfortunate fate of Henry, was drawn from his cell, to periſh by the moſt exquiſite torments. His bones were broken by the arm of the executioner; his fleſh was torn by hot pincers; ſcalding lead and oil were poured upon his wounds; and his mangled body, ſtill ſenſible, was delivered to be diſmembered by four horſes; the ſtubborn frame reſiſted their utmoſt efforts; the indignant multitude, whoſe thirſt of vengeance could no longer be reſtrained, ruſhed through the guards; in an inſtant they put an end to his miſery, by tearing him in pieces; and with barbarous joy they dragged his limbs in frantic triumph through the ſtreets. Amidſt every mark of ingenious cruelty inflicted by public juſtice, or private hatred, he ſtill maintained, with conſtancy, the declaration, "that impreſſed with the "idea that the armaments of Henry were deſtined "againſt the catholic church, and the ſucceſſor of St. "Peter, he alone had planned, he alone was privy to "the deed, to the juſt horror of which he was now "awakened; and which he hoped in a future world, "the torments he had ſuffered here, would in ſome "meaſure expiate."

On the firſt intelligence of the death of Henry, the prince of Condé quitted his retreat in the territories of Spain, and haſtened to urge his pretenſions as firſt prince of the blood. A ſplendid palace, a conſiderable ſum of money, and a penſion adequate to his dignity, were temptations that his neceſſities allowed him not to reſiſt; while the diſcontent of the count of Soiſſons was appeaſed by the important government of Normandy. The former miniſters of the crown, who had ſerved with fidelity, and who were recommended by their experience, were received with coldneſs, and liſtened to with evident diſapprobation; the queen abandoned herſelf, without reſerve, to her fond partiality for her Italian adherents; Conchini, a native of that country, and of obſcure

obſcure extraction, had increaſed his influence by a marriage with Leonora Galigai, the favourite of the regent, and their united counſels ruled France and their miſtreſs with abſolute ſway, The mareſchal de la Chartre, with a detachment of twelve thouſand men, had effected a junction with prince Maurice of Naſſau, penetrated into Germany, and reſtored the duchy of Juliers to the marquis of Brandenburgh, and the count Palatine of Newburgh; but the court, as if fatigued with this inſtance of vigour, again ſunk into ſupineneſs; and the duke of Savoy, betrayed and deſerted, was happy to eſcape the chaſtiſement of Spain, by the moſt degrading and humiliating conceſſions.

A. D. 1611. The duke of Sully, auſtere and inflexible, and who confiding in his integrity, diſdained the arts of courts, found that ſincerity, which had been eſteemed by Henry, no longer acceptable; he indignantly retired to the eſtates which he had purchaſed through the bounty of the late king, and reſigned his offices of governor of the Baſtile, and ſuperintendant of the finances; but the reformed, who ſtill confided in him, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, exhorted him to retain his government of Poitou, and poſt of maſter of the ordnance. Each day revealed the aſcendancy of Conchini, who endeavoured to remove from the eyes of the people the unpopular circumſtance of foreign birth, by aſſuming the title of marquis of Ancre. The death of the duke of Orleans, whoſe title devolved on his younger brother the duke of Anjou, did not interrupt the negociations which the queen and her miniſters eagerly purſued with the court of Spain. Inſtead of attempting to repreſs the dangerous ambition of the houſe of Auſtria, the regent, to eſtabliſh her authority, determined cloſely to connect herſelf with that family; and while the young king was contracted to the Infanta, the hand

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of his ſiſter, the princeſs Elizabeth, was engaged to the prince of Aſturias.

While the princes of the blood concealed not their diſguſt at the influence of A. D. 1612. the marquis of Ancre, the reformed, in the union with the court of Spain, dreaded the revival of former perſecutions. The duke of Rohan, ſon in-law to the duke of Sully, ſeized the ſtrong town of St. Jean d'Angeli, the government of which had been promiſed to him by the deceaſed king; in excuſe for the enterpriſe he alleged, that the court, at the repreſentations of the duke of Bouillon, had removed the mayor, who was attached to his intereſt, and appointed another, wholly at their own devotion; the queen, to quench the embers of revolt, conſented to reſtore the former officer; and the death of the count of Soiſſons, which happened ſoon after, left the prince of Condé without a guide, who again reconciled himſelf to the marquis of Ancre.

The duke of Bouillon had been diſpatched to England to remove the jealouſies which James might entertain at the late union between France and Spain, and to propoſe a marriage with the princeſs Chriſtina, the ſecond daughter of Henry, and the eldeſt ſon of the king of England; but the prince of Wales unfortunately expired in the dawn of manhood, when his talents and virtues had awakened the expectations of his country; and the duke of Bouillon availed himſelf of the opportunity to negociate the nuptials of his own nephew, the elector Palatine, with the princeſs Elizabeth, daughter to James. A marriage, which probably prompted the elector to his enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of Bohemia, and which after plunging his poſterity in a long ſeries of abject diſtreſs, by the union of the princeſs Sophia with the houſe of Hanover, finally transferred the ſceptre of England to that family.

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A. D. 1613. The death of Francis, duke of Mantua and Marquis of Montferrat, without male offſpring, rekindled the ambition of the duke of Savoy. He diſputed, in arms, the ſucceſſion of the cardinal of Mantua, the brother of the deceaſed prince, to the Marquiſate. His liberality attached to his cauſe a conſiderable number of the nobility, and his forces, like a torrent deluged the conteſted country, and ſwept before him all oppoſition to the very gates of Montferrat. That city conſented to receive the victor; and Caſal alone, encouraged by the preſence of the duke of Nevers, held out for the cardinal. At the ſupplicating voice of her kinſman and ally, the queen of France prepared to chaſtiſe the temerity of the invader. Spain and the Venetians, embraced, with rival ardour, the ſupport of the cardinal; the duke of Savoy, in his turn, was overwhelmed by the numbers and reſources of ſo formidable a confederacy; he was reduced to abandon his conqueſts with the ſame rapidity as he had acquired them; and eſteemed himſelf happy in obtaining a peace, by acknowledging the pretenſions of the cardinal to the territories of his deceaſed brother.

A. D. 1614. 1615. Whatever might be the ſucceſs of France abroad, at home, her annals for four ſucceſſive years, preſent a dreary proſpect of unintereſting anarchy and barren diſcord. The princes of the blood, inſatiate of power, and the nobles turbulent and diſcontented, repeatedly erected the ſtandard of revolt againſt the regal authority; as frequently, with contemptible levity, they courted the returning friendſhip of a court, whoſe timid counſels were content to ſooth without preſuming to repreſs their capricious arrogance. It was amidſt theſe inceſſant alarms and deſultory hoſtilities, that the king, who had been declared of age, concluded the double marriage with Spain, and received at Bourdeaux the hand of Anne the Infanta.

From

From the celebration of that ceremony, A. D. 1615. Lewis purſued his march, at the head of 1616 a ſmall, but well diſciplined army, to reduce the the prince of Condé, and to impreſs his ſubjects with favourable ſentiments of his courage and activity. The approach of the winter ſuſpended the operations of the contending parties, who, while they rejected all terms of accommodation, ſeemed, ſtudious, in every enterpriſe, to avoid the effuſion of blood; with the return of ſpring the royal forces again aſſembled, and were again animated by the preſence of their ſovereign; but when his ſubjects daily expected the effects of that military ardour which had thus early tranſported him to a camp, they were ſurpriſed by the intelligence that he had ſubſcribed a peace, and ſubmitted to the demands of thoſe princes, whom he had ſo lately declared traitors to his throne.

The fatal counſels of the marquis of Ancre had influenced a meaſure ſo degrading to the royal authority; the alternate perſecutor and protector of the princes of the blood, he dreaded a war, which if ſucceſsful, could add but little to his power, and if unſucceſsful, muſt be attended with his ruin. In the field, he well knew the king would be expoſed to the ready acceſs and ſuggeſtions of the nobility, jealous of the ſuperior fortunes of a favourite, whom they hated and deſpiſed; the partiality of the queen had inveſted him with the dignity of mareſchal; but this new rank had only increaſed the envy of his competitors, and the deteſtation of the public. He languiſhed to return to Paris, that by the aſcendancy of his wife, over the mind of Mary, he might ſecure himſelf from the hoſtile practices of his enemies.

His return to court exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. The queen, though no longer legally inveſted with the authority of regent, ſtill appeared to maintain her influence over her feeble ſon, and

and was herſelf devoted to the will of the mareſchal and his conſort. With laviſh hand he diſſipated thoſe treaſures which had been amaſſed by the ambition of Henry, and the unwearied frugality of Sully; new titles were invented, and new poſts were created to gratify the pride, or avarice of his dependants; the ancient ſervants of the crown were diſmiſſed, and their places ſupplied by the creatures of his pleaſure. At length, inflated with proſperity, and no longer able to endure a rival, even in the firſt prince of the blood, he prevailed on the queen to arreſt the prince of Condé, who had preſumed to menace him with his indignation.

The impriſonment of that prince in the Baſtile, awakened from their dream of ſecurity the dukes of Vendoſme, Mayenne, Nevers, and Rohan, with a ſplendid train of nobility, who haſtily retired from court, and prepared by arms to vindicate themſelves from the oppreſſion of the favourite; the public diſcontent was increaſed by the diſmiſſal of Villeroy, grown grey in the ſervice of Henry the Fourth, from the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and the promotion of the biſhop of Lucon, ſince known as the celebrated cardinal Richelieu. The vigour that the court diſplayed, was moſt probably the effect of the new miniſter's counſels; three armies, levied with diligence, immediately appeared in the field to ſupport the royal authority; the firſt in Champagne, commanded by the duke of Guiſe, reduced Chateau, Porcien, and Rethel; the ſecond, which acted in the Nivernois, and was conducted by the mareſchal Montigny, defeated and took priſoner the ſecond ſon of the duke of Nevers; the third was entruſted to the count d'Auvergne, whom the queen had drawn from the long confinement, to which he had been ſentenced by Henry, and now placed at the head of the royal forces in the iſle of France. Age and misfortune had not extinquiſhed the youthful vigour

vigour of that reſtleſs noble. He ſurpriſed and diſperſed the ſcattered bodies of the confederates, and inveſted in Soiſſons the duke of Mayenne, ſon to the renowned chief of the league. The walls of that place could not long have reſiſted his ardour; and he had already prepared to give the ſignal for a general aſſault, when the duke of Mayenne was preſerved from the deſtruction that impended over him, by an event as unexpected as it was deciſive.

While the mareſchal of Ancre, elated at the proſpect before him, gave looſe to a temper naturally raſh and vindictive, his capricious jealouſies and unbridled arrogance precipitated on his own head the ruin that he meditated againſt his enemies. He had placed about the perſon of the young king a gentleman of the name of Luines, who inſinuated himſelf into the favour and confidence of Lewis, by his unwearied aſſiduities, and the ardour with which he planned and partook of his childiſh amuſements; but while the thoughts and hours of this new favourite ſeemed occupied by ſports and pleaſures the moſt frivolous, he in private nouriſhed an ambition above his rank and ſtation. The mareſchal had repulſed, with contempt, his offer of alliance by uniting his brother to the niece of Ancre; and Luines, not inſenſible of the ſuſpicious diſpoſition of the Florentine, determined to provide for his own ſafety, by the deſtruction of a man whom from that moment he ſecretly conſidered as his implacable enemy.

In the unguarded hours of familiarity, he impreſſed Lewis with a lively dread of the dangerous deſigns of the aſpiring Italian; he repreſented to him that his father Henry the Fourth, had ever regarded, with peculiar averſion, the influence of the mareſchal and Leonora, over the mind of the queen. That he had only been prevented by the

tears of his conſort, from compelling them to repaſs the Alps; that the evils which he had foreſeen from their aſcendancy over that princeſs, were now realiſed; the firſt prince of the blood was impriſoned; the principal nobility were baniſhed from court; and the kingdom was plunged into the calamities of civil war, to ſatiate the revenge, or ſooth the arrogance of a ſupercilious foreigner. That while this inſolent minion diſpoſed at pleaſure of every employment of truſt and importance, the ſovereign himſelf was little better than a captive to the queen and the mareſchal; and the avowed preference and attachment of the former, to his younger brother the duke of Orleans, ought to inſpire him with ſentiments of prudent diſtruſt.

A. D. 1617. The tender years of Lewis were already diſtinguiſhed by that jealouſy of the royal authority which afterwards became the prominent feature of his character. He liſtened attentively to the repeated ſuggeſtions of Luines, and at length imparted his reſolution to atchieve his own deliverance, and to extinguiſh the torch of civil commotion by the death of the mareſchal. With the concurrence of Lewis, Luines exacted an oath from Vitri, the captain of the guard, to execute whatever the king ſhould command. He then diſcloſed to him the royal orders to arreſt the mareſchal d'Ancre; and Vitri having aſſociated in the enterpriſe his brother Hillier, his brother-in-law Perſan, and a few more friends, on whoſe courage and fidelity he could rely, prepared to execute the will of his ſovereign.

While the conſpirators were engaged in concerting their meaſures, the queen was confidentially admoniſhed to diſmiſs her Italian favourites, whoſe inſolence muſt involve in their ruin her own influence; and Leonora was exhorted to conſult her ſafety by a prudent and timely retreat; the natural

timidity of her ſex inclined her to embrace the counſel that was offered; but the mareſchal indignantly rejected the alternative, and declared that he would never deſert that fortune which hitherto had conſtantly accompanied him. On the morning fixed for his deſtruction, he had entered the Louvre, ſurrounded by forty gentlemen who derived their ſupport from his liberality; he was earneſtly engaged in reading a letter, when the captain of the guard and his friends appeared; the retinue of Ancre, imagining they preceded their royal maſter, gave way; and Vitri, advancing to the mareſchal, arreſted him in the name of the king. In a moment of aſtoniſhment and indignation he laid his hand on his ſword; this mark of reſiſtance was the ſignal of his deſtruction. The command of Vitri to kill him was inſtantly obeyed; and three piſtols, diſcharged with unerring ſkill, extended the mareſchal lifeleſs on the ground.

The preſence af the king at a window which overlooked the bloody ſcene, repreſſed the ineffectual zeal of Ancre's adherents; his ſon, the marquis de Pene, and his wife, the unfortunate Leonora, were immediately ſecured. A judicial proceſs was commenced againſt the latter; her eſtates were confiſcated, and ſhe was condemned to expiate with her life, a crime that exiſted only in the malice, or ignorance, of her proſecutors. She was charged, and pronounced guilty of having faſcinated the affection of the queen by magical arts; but the conſtancy with which in her laſt moments ſhe endured the ſevereſt tortures, commanded the admiration, though it diſarmed not the rage of her relentleſs enemies.

The deſtruction of her favourites, was attended by the diſgrace of the queen-mother herſelf; that princeſs, diveſted of her guards and the enſigns of royalty, was permitted to retire to Blois. The

power which had been occupied by Ancre was transferred to Luines; the dignity of mareſchal was conferred on Vitri; his brother Hillier was raiſed to the vacant poſt of captain of the guards; and the biſhop of Lucon was compelled to reſign the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate, which he had ſo lately received.

While the duke of Mayenne, hopeleſs and deſerted, anticipated in his terrors the puniſhment of unſucceſsful rebellion, he was agreeably ſurpriſed by the intelligence that the mareſchal d'Ancre was no more, and that the king had been pleaſed to approve his conduct, as originating in zeal for the public welfare. The gates of Soiſſons were thrown open to the royal forces, and the count d'Auvergne entered as a friend, that city which he had ſo lately afflicted with all the calamities of war. The dukes of Vendoſme, Nevers, and Rohan, alſo haſtened to court to throw themſelves at the feet of a ſovereign whoſe juſtice had extinguiſhed the object of their enmity; and while they loaded with reproaches the memory of the former, they laboured to acquire, by their aſſiduities, the friendſhip of the preſent favourite; the birth of Luines rendered him deſirous of ennobling his obſcure extraction by an illuſtrious alliance; the ſiſter of the duke of Vendoſme, and the natural daughter of Henry the Fourth, firſt preſented herſelf to his aſpiring hopes; but he dreaded the revival of that envy, which had proved ſo fatal to the mareſchal d'Ancre; and contented himſelf with ſoliciting the hand of the daughter of the duke of Montbazon; who with pleaſure conſented to receive as his ſon-in-law the favourite of the king.

While the deſtructive flame of civil commotion preyed upon the vitals of France, the duke of Savoy was expoſed to the formidable arms and reſtleſs ambition of Spain. The mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres

guieres flew to the ſuccour of that prince, whom formerly he had encountered with equal ardour. The commands of the queen-mother could not reſtrain him from an enterpriſe in which the glory and intereſt of his country were deeply concerned. The late revolution ſuſpended his operations for a moment, but on the deſtruction of the mareſchal d'Ancre he reſumed them with the ſanction of the royal authority. In ſucceſſive engagements the troops of Spain were defeated by a veteran who joined the fire of youth to the experience of age; and at the inſtant that he prepared to carry his victorious arms into Milan, and render Italy once more the theatre of war, his triumphant career was ſtopped by the intelligence of a peace, which Spain, baffled and humbled, had condeſcended to propoſe, and which the exhauſted coffers of the duke of Savoy had induced him to accept.

The favourite who had obtained from the partiality of his ſovereign the title of duke of Luines, endeavoured by every method that policy could ſuggeſt firmly to eſtabliſh his dominion over the mind of his royal patron; at the ſame time he aſſiduouſly courted the general opinion; to ingratiate himſelf with the people; he aſſembled the ſtates of Rouen, and aboliſhed the moſt burthenſome impoſts; to conciliate the princes of the blood, he appeared zealous in his ſolicitations to procure the freedom of the prince of Condé; and by a dexterous application to the intereſts of individuals, he converted the reproachful clamours of his moſt formidable opponents into profeſſions of eſteem. The duke of Mayenne was gratified with the government of Guienne, wreſted from the prince of Condé; the mareſchal Ornano was appointed to that of Normandy; and the duke of Luines reſerved to himſelf the Iſle of France, the ſituation of which allowed A. D. 1618.

lowed him to exerciſe the duties of a governor, without neglecting the arts of a courtier.

Yet amidſt every precaution that prudence could dictate, amidſt the ſplendour of a fortune that was envied by millions, the reſtleſs hours of the favourite were conſtantly haunted by the dread of the returning influence of the queen-mother. Exiled and encompaſſed at Blois by hollow friends and open enemies, that princeſs was ſtill formidable. She entered into a correſpondence with the duke d'Epernon, who had quitted the court in diſguſt, and maintained in the city of Metz a ſullen independence. He readily liſtened to the advances of the queen-mother, whoſe partiality he had formerly experienced, and whoſe deliverance he engaged to atchieve. At the head of an hundred horſe, whoſe fidelity he could depend on, he ſuddenly quitted Metz, and rapidly advanced to Blois; Mary, informed of his approach, eluded by a ladder of ropes the vigilance of her guards; and deſcending from a window, eſcaped to the protection of Epernon, who conveyed her ſafely into Angouleſme, at the critical moment that the court had determined to commit her a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Amboiſe.

A. D 1619. On the firſt intelligence of the flight of the queen, the king and his favourite abandoned themſelves to menaces the moſt harſh and violent. An hundred thouſand men were deſtined to chaſtiſe the temerity of the duke d'Epernon, and the royal forces were commanded to aſſemble on every ſide to recover the fugitive princeſs, and to overwhelm her preſumptuous protector; but with the return of reaſon Lewis was awakened to the infamy of arming againſt his mother; and the duke of Luines was ſenſible that the public voice would attribute to his counſels a war unnatural and odious. On the other hand, the duke d'Epernon

d'Epernon beheld himſelf diſappointed in the ſupine indifference of the nobles, from which no exhortations either of his own or his royal ally could arouſe them; he was ſenſible that alone and unſupported, he muſt ſoon ſink in the unequal conflict; yet though both parties ſincerely wiſhed for peace, the negociations were ſlow and indeciſive. To quicken theſe, the duke of Luines recalled the biſhop of Lucon, whom he had baniſhed from the ſide of the queen-mother, to Avignon. That prelate, whoſe commanding genius was already diſcerned amidſt the clouds of faction, was peculiarly acceptable to Mary; though the duke d'Epernon at firſt regarded him with jealouſy, the addreſs and inſinuating manners of Richelieu, ſoon diſſipated his ſuſpicions, and enſured his confidence. His influence again eſtabliſhed that tranquillity which was ſo earneſtly deſired. The queen-mother by the treaty of Angouleſme was reſtored to liberty, and indulged in the privilege of changing the ſeat of her reſidence at pleaſure; in lieu of the government of Normandy, ſhe received that of Anjou, with the caſtles of Angers, Pont de Ce, and Chinon. Her adherents were reinſtated in their poſts and appointments; but on this occaſion Richelieu himſelf diſplayed the features of honourable diſintereſtedneſs, and amidſt the various articles that he ſtipulated, ſeems alone to have neglected his private advantage.

That diſcord which interrupted the repoſe of France, was diffuſed more widely, and with more bloody rage through the ſeveral principalities of Germany. The oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria was inflamed by religious enthuſiaſm; the ſtates of Bohemia having taken arms againſt the emperor Mathias, continued their revolt againſt his ſucceſſor Ferdinand the Second, and claimed the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in A. D. 1619. 1620.

in favour of the new religion, along with the reſtoration of their ancient laws and conſtitution. The ſurrounding principalities Sileſia, Moravia, Luſatia, Auſtria, and the kingdom of Hungary, took part in the quarrel; and each in their turn experienced the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

Ferdinand, bold and haughty, diſdained to conciliate by lenient meaſures thoſe diſaffected ſpirits he aſpired to chaſtiſe by arms. With the aſſiſtance o his own ſubjects, who profeſſed the ancient religion, and the alliance of the neighbouring catholic princes, he beheld his armies ſwelled by the acceſſion of the proteſtant elector of Saxony, by the rapid cavalry of Poland, and the firm and veteran infantry of Spain. To reſiſt ſo formidable a confederacy, the ſtates of Bohemia determined alſo to implore the protection of foreign powers, and they caſt their eyes on Frederic elector palatine, who was ſon-in-law to the king of England, and nephew to prince Maurice, whoſe authority was become almoſt abſolute in the United Provinces, might from his own ample dominions, and the greatneſs of his connections be able to defend the proteſtant cauſe and the liberties of Bohemia from the hoſtile enterpriſes of the houſe of Auſtria.

The elector palatine, ſtimulated by the fire and ambition of youth, accepted the crown which the diſtreſs of the ſtates had proffered, and marched into Bohemia to the ſupport of his new ſubjects. But his raſh reſolution was diſapproved by James and Maurice; and the former reſtraining the ardour of his people in the cauſe of Frederic, and impreſſed with an exalted idea of the rights of kings, refuſed to countenance the revolted ſubjects of the houſe of Auſtria. The elector, defeated in the great and deciſive battle of Prague, fled with his family into Holland; and Spinola entering

entering the palatinate, notwithſtanding the efforts of ſome proteſtant princes of Germany, and a gallant band of Engliſh volunteers, commanded by the brave ſir Horace Vere, in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of that principality.

In France the power and favour of the duke of Luines ſeemed daily to increaſe; yet the queen-mother, though all her demands had been gratified by the late treaty, ſtill refuſed to appear at court, and nouriſhed in diſcontented ſecurity, at the caſtle of Angers, the ſeeds of revolt. To fortify himſelf againſt her influence, Luines had reſtored the liberty, and laboured to engage the gratitude of the prince of Condé. But the dread that union might have inſpired was balanced by the jealouſies of the reformed, by the murmurs of the people at new impoſts, and by the envy of the nobility, who could ill brook the fond partiality of the king, and the inſulting grandeur of his favourite. The duke of Mayenne retired to his government of Guienne; the count of Soiſſons, the dukes of Vendoſme, Nevers, Rohan, and Retz, haſtened to Angers, and offered their ſervices to the queen-mother; the duke d'Epernon once more declared in her favour; and Mary of Medicis aſſuming the tone of independence, proclaimed her reſolution never to conſent to any future treaty, unleſs guarantied by the parliament of France, or ſome foreign power.

But on this occaſion the king, tenacious of his dignity, acted with vigour and firmneſs. While his diſcontented ſubjects gave vent to their indignation in ineffectual invectives, with what forces he could haſtily aſſemble he entered the province of Normandy, confirmed by his preſence the doubtful allegiance of Rouen, reduced Caen, and compelled

pelled the duke of Longueville, who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the queen, to ſeek ſhelter in Dieppe. While his ſucceſs inſpired with hope and confidence his own adherents, Mary, aſtoniſhed at an alacrity ſo little expected, felt, with the approach of danger, the natural timidity of her ſex return; rejecting the bold and deciſive counſels of the duke of Rohan, to retire to Bourdeaux, and rely on the affection of that parliament, zealouſly attached to her intereſt, ſhe was perſuaded by the biſhop of Lucon to depend on the effects of negociation; a new treaty was ſubſcribed which confirmed the former; and a general pardon was granted to thoſe who ſhould deſerve the clemency of their ſovereign by immediate ſubmiſſion. On the day after the conditions were ſigned, the king, diſſembling his knowledge of the event, attacked and carried Pont de Ce, a fortreſs which he had formerly yielded to the demands of the queen, and which was now betrayed by the artifices of the biſhop of Lucon, and the cowardice of the duke of Retz.

If in the treaty of Angouleſme, the diſintereſtneſs of Richelieu commanded the admiration of his enemies; in the preſent, the ſincerity of his counſels and the integrity of his conduct were univerſally ſuſpected and loudly impeached. A ſecret article of the treaty too clearly revealed his ambitious motives. While the duke of Luines ſtipulated to obtain the dignity of cardinal for the aſpiring prelate, the biſhop of Lucon conſented to beſtow the hand of his niece, with an immenſe portion, on the nephew of the favourite; and Mary of Medecis diſcerned too late that ſhe had fallen a victim to the ſpecious arts and worldly views of the ſubtle churchman.

For

For a ſeries of fifty years the province of Bearn, the patrimony of Henry the Fourth, had maintained the religion of the reformed, pure and inviolate. The ſuggeſtions of the favourite, impatient of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his zeal for the ancient worſhip, prevailed on the king to enter that country with his forces, and re-eſtabliſh the catholic church; ſurpriſed and unprepared for reſiſtance, the Bearnois bent before the ſtorm they were incapable of reſiſting; maſs was celebrated in the preſence of Lewis; and after ſuppreſſing the privileges, and uniting the principality of Bearn to the crown, the monarch returned in triumph to his capital to meditate new enterpriſes, and to extend the limits of he royal authority.

The inhabitants of Rochelle, enthuſiaſtic in the cauſe of religion, animated A. D. 1621. by the recollection of former exploits, and confiding in the edict of Nantz, ſtill publicly convened their aſſemblies, and braved the orders of their ſovereign, who prohibited their meetings as ſeditious, and proclaimed them rebels to the crown. But the duke of Luines, ſenſible of the danger of encountering the united force of the reformed, determined to detach from their intereſt the mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres; to gratify the ambition of that powerful chieftain, who ruled Dauphiné with almoſt independent authority, the poſt of mareſchal-general of the camps was inſtituted; but the favourite at the ſame moment ſeized for himſelf the ſword of conſtable, which for ſeven ſucceſſive years, ſince the death of the duke of Montmorency, had been denied to the ſolicitations of rank and ability.

The intrigues and preparations of the court could not be concealed from the vigilant eye of the hugonots. The duke of Rohan, ſon-in-law to the duke

of

of Sully, with his brother the duke of Soubiſe, exhorted them to defend their religious principles at the hazard of their lives. But du Pleſſis Mornai, who in the reign of Henry the Fourth had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ardour in the cauſe of calviniſm, now avowed his reluctance to oppoſe the authority of his ſovereign, and ſurrendered the important caſtle of Saumur, which commanded the paſſage of the Loire. His example was followed by the duke of Tremouille, and the duke of Bouillon, reſpectable from his experience, and from his principality of Sedan. The king himſelf, accompanied by the new conſtable, the prince of Condé, and the mareſchal duke de Leſdeguieres, inveſted St. Jean d'Angeli; for thirty-five days the duke of Soubiſe repulſed with perſevering valour the inceſſant attacks of the royal forces; their ſuperior numbers at length compelled him to ſurrender; and ſome praiſe is due to the magnanimity of Lewis, who reſpected the gallantry of the garriſon, and permitted them to depart without moleſtation.

From the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, the royal army moved forwards towards Montauban; but the care of the proteſtants had provided that place with a numerous garriſon, commanded by the marquis de la Force; and the pride and power of the monarch were ſucceſsfully oppoſed by the ſkill of that officer, and the conſtancy of his brave companions. Their ſallies from the town were equally bold and prudent; and in repelling the aſſaults of the beſiegers, they diſplayed an invincible courage; for three months Lewis and his general preſſed their attacks with incredible obſtinacy; but the loſs of the duke Mayenne, with his braveſt officers and the flower of his army, obliged the king to abandon the hopeleſs enterpriſe, and to lead back his haraſſed forces to Paris.

With

With the ſiege of Montauban the reputation of the duke of Luines expired; and it is probable that a timely death preſerved him from experiencing on what a ſandy foundation he had erected the edifice of greatneſs. From the moment that he had extorted the ſword of conſtable, Lewis, profuſe to his favourites, but jealous of a maſter, had viewed him with eyes of diſtruſt; and the duke himſelf, alarmed at the ſymptoms of impending diſgrace, ſunk under the preſſure of his fears; and cloſed a life, remarkable only for the ſplendid and unmerited fortune that had attended it.

In Spain, Philip the Third, unnoticed and unlamented, had ſunk into the grave; A. D. 1622. while Lewis, indifferent to the diſpoſition of foreign powers, reſumed his deſigns againſt his own ſubjects with redoubled ardour; he had beſtowed the ſword of conſtable on the duke of Leſdeguieres, who had abjured the proteſtant religion, and entered the pale of the catholic church. At the head of his councils he placed the cardinal de Retz, and the count of Schomberg; and in conſequence of their advice, he marched into the province of Poitou, with a ſmall but well diſciplined army, to chaſtiſe the duke of Soubiſe, who, after the reduction of St. Jean d'Angeli, had collected a band of deſperate and indigent aſſociates, and ravaged the defenceleſs country. On the approach of the royal forces, he retired into the iſland of Rhe, ſeparated from the continent by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which was fordable at low-water. The difficulty of the enterpriſe could not reſtrain the indignant courage of Lewis; impatient of reſiſtance, he croſſed the ſea under cover of the night, and ſtormed the intrenchments of his rebellious ſubjects: the duke of Soubiſe, with a few companions of his fortunes, eſcaped the vengeance

of his ſovereign, by committing himſelf to the waves, and ſwimming to the continent.

Negrepeliſſe was ſtormed by the prince of Condé, and the lives of the inhabitants of every age and ſex were involved in one promiſcuous carnage; but this inſtance of rigid ſeverity impreſſed not with terror the enthuſiaſtic courage of the proteſtants. The walls of Montpellier were defended by the duke of Rohan in perſon, and the prince of Condé beheld the flower of his army conſumed in ineffectual aſſaults; the citizens of Rochelle, though inveſted by ſea and land, ſtill preſerved their former conſtancy, and Lewis, liſtening to the counſels of the conſtable Leſdeguieres, who revolved with concern the deſtruction of a party whoſe principles he had formerly ſo ſucceſsfully ſupported, conſented to cloſe the bleeding wounds of his country by a treaty with the hugonots; the edict of Nantz was again confirmed; the royal forces were withdrawn from the gates and harbour of Rochelle; and the inhabitants of Montpellier ſubmitted to acknowledge their ſovereign, and to receive him within their walls; but the king in the moment of confidence violated the article that diſmiſſed them from the dread of a royal garriſon; two regiments devoted to his ſervice were left in that city; and the proteſtants, too weak to oppoſe, could only indulge their reſentment in empty murmurs.

A. D. 1623. During the convulſions of Italy, and the tranſient authority of the Sforzas in Milan, the Valteline, a country ſituated on the borders of Ferol and Milan, but annexed to the dominions of the latter, had been occupied by the hardy natives of that part of Switzerland diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Griſons*; their poſſeſſion of it had been guarantied by Francis the Firſt and Henry the Fourth; but Spain, with the acquiſition of the duchy of

of Milan, extended her pretenſions alſo to the Valteline; to oppoſe her ambition, a confederacy was formed by the duke of Savoy and the ſtate of Venice; and France readily agreed to a league, in which her honour and intereſt were involved. The court of Spain, alarmed at ſo formidable a junction, conſented in ſome meaſure to recede from her claim, and to ſequeſter the Valteline into the hands of the Roman pontiff, Gregory the Fifteenth, an expedient which Lewis for the preſent thought it prudent to acquieſce in.

But the attention of the public was ſoon diverted from foreign to domeſtic concerns. A. D. 1624. The cardinal de Retz had expired amidſt the diſſentions of his country; the partiality of the queen for the biſhop of Lucon, now known as cardinal Richelieu, was revived; and the king was prevailed upon to introduce into his councils a man deſtined to reſtore the grandeur of France, and to eſtabliſh a new epoch in the reign of Lewis.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Deſigns of Richelieu—He expels the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline—Marriage of the princeſs Henrietta to Charles Prince of Wales—War with the proteſtants—With Spain—Peace with the latter—England arms in defence of the Hugonots—Siege of Rochelle—War with the houſe of Auſtria—Revolt of the dukes of Orleans and Montmorenci—Execution of the latter—Invaſion of Picardy—Revolt and death of the count of Soiſſons—Conſpiracy of Meſſieurs Cinq Mars, and de Thou—Their fate—Reduction of Perpignan—Death and character of Richelieu—of Lewis the Thirteenth.

A. D. 1624. FROM the tedious and unintereſting annals of a monarch whoſe perſonal courage alone faintly gilds the gloom of the political horizon, the hiſtorian with pleaſure haſtens to the vigorous counſels and aſpiring ſpirit of his miniſter, whoſe commanding genius burſt the narrow limits of the cloyſter, and awed and aſtoniſhed the nations of Europe with the blaze of its meridian luſtre. Born to ſteer the veſſel of ſtate amidſt ſtorms and quickſands, the political talents of the cardinal Richelieu, have to the preſent moment extorted the praiſe and admiration of poſterity; frequently ſucceſsful, and always great in his deſigns, he roſe with accumulated ſtrength from defeat; and the ambitious prelate had no ſooner exchanged the crozier for the ſeals, than his open and ſecret enemies were overwhelmed by the torrent of his ambition. During

ing eighteen years he maintained his aſcendancy over the jealous mind of his ſovereign; the reformed, who had triumphed over the artifices of Catherine of Medicis, and the bloody rage of Charles the Ninth, were broken by his invincible arm; and the houſe of Auſtria, defeated and depreſſed, was forced to yield to his ſuperior fortune, that which the valour and virtues of Francis the Firſt and Henry the Fourth had in vain attempted.

His rivals in the cabinet were the firſt victims to the arts of Richelieu; and the duke of Vieuville, to whom had been entruſted the care of the finances, was not only diſmiſſed from his poſt, but even committed to the caſtle of Amboiſe; his ſucceſſor Marillac, endeavoured to avoid a ſimilar fate, by an obſequious compliance with the will of the cardinal; who no ſooner had eſtabliſhed his authority at home, than he prepared to extend the terror of his name abroad. His admiſſion into the conclave had not ſerved to impreſs him with zeal or awe for the court of Rome; and his contempt of the roman pontiff was diſplayed in his inſtructions to expel the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline. The marquis of Cœuvres obeyed with alacrity orders ſo congenial to his own inclinations; Gregory the Fifteenth, ſenſible of the inefficacy of the thunders of the vatican, which had once appeared ſo formidable, contented himſelf with remonſtrances, which Richelieu received with impatience and conſigned to neglect.

James of England, wrapped in the proud and conſtant contemplation of royal dignity, conſidered every alliance below that of a king, as unworthy of of the prince of Wales; and determined never to beſtow the hand of his ſon Charles, but on a daughter of France or Spain. With the latter court his ambaſſador, the earl of Briſtol, had opened a nego-

ciation. Philip the Fourth received his propoſals with pleaſure; and with the infanta offered a portion of ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the reſtitution of the palatinate, which had been wreſted from Frederic, ſon-in-law to James, by the emperor of Germany. But when all meaſures were agreed between both parties, and nothing was wanting but the diſpenſation from Rome, this connection, ſo honourable and advantageous to England, was broken by a romantic enterpriſe, originally conceived with the idea of haſtening and cementing the propoſed alliance.

George Villiers, with the ſole recommendation of perſonal accompliſhments, had rapidly advanced in the favour of James, too partial to external advantages; and from an obſcure condition, had attained the rank and title of duke of Buckingham; to ingratiate himſelf alſo with the ſon, he propoſed to the prince of Wales to break through the forms which uſually bind the heirs of royalty, and paſſing in diſguiſe to Madrid, to introduce himſelf to the infanta as an ardent and devoted lover. Charles reliſhed the gallantry of the propoſal; a reluctant conſent by the tears of his ſon, and the reproaches of his favourite, was extorted from James; and the prince of Wales, accompanied by Buckingham, privately quitted London, and croſſed over to Calais. They had even the temerity in their journey to viſit the French court in diſguiſe, and the charms of the princeſs Henrietta, the ſiſter of Lewis, made a lively and deep impreſſion on the heart of the youthful prince.

Though Charles and the duke were received at Madrid with every mark of reſpect and attention by the king of Spain, yet the volatile manners, and diſſolute pleaſures of the latter, but ill accorded with the gravity and dignity of the Spaniſh court.

Influenced

Influenced by motives of diſguſt or caprice, he determined to return without accompliſhing the object of their journey; he eaſily obtained the acquieſcence of Charles; the delay of the diſpenſation afforded a decent pretence; and immediately on their arrival in England, the duke of Buckingham prevailed on the eaſy king and prince, firſt to ſuſpend, and afterwards to break off the negociation with Spain.

But James ſtill continued firmly fixed in opinion, that his ſon would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princeſs of leſs than royal pedigree. After the rupture therefore with Spain, nothing remained but an alliance with France, and to that court he immediately applied himſelf. The earls of Holland and Carliſle were ſent over ambaſſadors on this occaſion; but though the portion of Henrietta equalled not that of the infanta, and the reſtitution of the palatinate could not be expected from this alliance, yet the ſuperior addreſs of Richelieu to the Engliſh miniſters, extorted the ſame terms for the chriſtian king as had been granted to the catholic. To Henrietta was allowed the important privilege of educating her children till they attained the age of thirteen, and Buckingham was diſpatched to Paris to conduct the bride to her royal conſort; who, by the death of his father James, had aſcended the throne of England. A. D. 1625.

But the near alliance of France with a Proteſtant king did not deter the cardinal from nouriſhing the moſt fatal deſigns againſt the followers of the reformed religion. Pride had induced him to brave the impotent reſentment of the court of Rome; and that policy which conſidered the augmentation of the regal authority as the grand object of his adminiſtration, prompted him to meditate the extirpation of a hardy ſect, whoſe frequent revolts openly

violated the dignity of the crown. Several circumſtances pointed out to him the favourable moment of enterpriſe; the duke of Bouillon, and du Pleſſis Mornai, formidable from their abilities, their experience, and their influence, had ſunk into the grave covered with years and glory; and though the brothers of Rohan and Soubiſe, by their martial exploits had acquired and maintained a high reputation, yet their impetuous courage too often ſlighted the voice of prudence, and precipitated their party into dangers, which hourly threatened their deſtruction.

The late treaty had been infringed by the introduction of a royal garriſon into Montpellier, and the remonſtrances of the hugonots had been diſregarded or evaded by the court. A new ſubject of diſcontent now preſented itſelf in a royal fleet ſtationed at L'Orient, to guard and block up the harbour of Rochelle. The duke of Soubiſe offered with a few ſhips ſuddenly to attack and deſtroy the hoſtile ſquadron; and permitted the hugonots, if he failed in the attempt, to diſown his conduct. Though his meaſures were betrayed, he happily accompliſhed the daring project; and on the firſt intelligence of his ſucceſs, his brother the duke of Rohan reſumed his arms, and again diſplayed the banner of revolt. A ſharp and deſultory war was carried on with that fire and animoſity that attends religious commotion. The Rochellers were defeated at ſea by the united ſquadrons of France and England; but the loſs of the confederates in the action prevented them from improving their advantage. The clamours of the Engliſh compelled their ſovereign to interfere; the mediation of the conſort of Henrietta was liſtened to with reſpect; and a peace at length was concluded, which confirmed the edict of Nantz; the harbour of Rochelle was delivered from the vigi-

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lance of the royal ſquadrons; the fort of St. Lewis, which approached and inſulted that city, was to be demoliſhed within ſix months; and the king of France conſented that his brother-in-law, the king of England, ſhould guarantee to the proteſtants the articles of the peace.

Philip had beheld with indignation the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtical troops from the Valteline; the French, as allies to the duke of Savoy, ſtill maintained the war againſt the power of Spain. The Spaniards, in attempting to raiſe the ſiege of Verue, were defeated with conſiderable loſs; but Urban the Eighth, who had ſucceeded to the apoſtolical chair, prevented the two crowns from coming to an open rupture. His zeal to reconcile the moſt powerful princes of the catholic church was attended with ſucceſs; a treaty was concluded at Moncon, by which the ſovereignty of the Valteline was confirmed to the Griſons, and the paſſes of that country, by the gratitude of her allies, were ſecured to France.

The reputation of Richelieu was not increaſed by his firſt eſſays in arms; to the hugonots he had granted the moſt favourable conditions; and in the late treaty of Moncon the duke of Savoy loudly complained that his intereſts were deſerted. But if abroad his ability and integrity were impeached, at home, he was expoſed to the envy and rage which attends ſucceſsful ambition. Gaſton, duke of Orleans, and brother to the king, had completed his eighteenth year, and that irreſolution, which formed the predominant feature of his character, began already to diſplay itſelf. His father, Henry the Fourth, had expreſſed his wiſh that he might be united to mademoiſelle Montpenſier, one of the greateſt heireſſes of France; but the favourites of the duke of Orleans endeavoured A. D. 1626.

voured to divert his inclinations to a marriage with ſome foreign princeſs, whoſe connections might render him independent of the power of the miniſter. Their intrigues could not elude the vigilance of the cardinal; the mareſchal Ornano, who had even concerted the aſſaſſination of Richelieu, was committed to the Baſtile, and delivered by diſeaſe from an ignominous death; the count of Chalais expired on a ſcaffold; the duke of Vendoſme, and his brother the grand prior, were cloſely guarded; and the count of Soiſſons, by a haſty flight, ſought ſhelter from the tempeſt in the court of Rome. The deſigns of his enemies ſerved only to eſtabliſh the authority and influence of the cardinal, and the partiality of Lewis for his miniſter, was evidently diſplayed in the honourable diſtinction of guards for the protection of his perſon.

The duke of Orleans, deprived of all in whom he could repoſe confidence, returned to court; and with his natural levity conceived, or pretended, a violent paſſion for mademoiſelle Montpenſier. Their nuptial ceremony was performed by the cardinal; but though the duke himſelf obtained, from the liberality of his brother, the duchies of Orleans and Chartres, with the county of Blois, his ſolicitations for his unhappy friends were ineffectual; and the cardinal having cruſhed the enemies of his perſon, prepared to extinguiſh thoſe of his faith.

Though ardent in his deſigns of humbling the houſe of Auſtria, he was convinced, to exert the power of France, it was firſt neceſſary to extirpate the ſeeds of civil commotion; the proteſtants, impatient of delay, had urged by arms the demolition of Fort St. Lewis; but their temerity was checked by the formidable preparations and vigorous meaſures of Richelieu; and the duke of Soubiſe,

biſe, anxious for the ſafety of Rochelle, menaced on every ſide, implored and obtained the aſſiſtance of England.

That court, embarraſſed by domeſtic factions and an unſucceſsful war with Spain, ought, perhaps, in prudence to have declined any hoſtile enterpriſe againſt the kingdom of France. Its mediation, in behalf of the reformed, had hitherto been attended with the greateſt advantages; and Richelieu himſelf, daring as he was, could not but regard, with ſome degree of dread, the martial ſpirit of a people who had ſo often proved the ſcourge of his country; but the duke of Buckingham ſtill maintained his aſcendancy over the mind of Charles; when diſpatched to receive the princeſs Henrietta, he had entertained a guilty paſſion for the queen of France; the beauty of his perſon, the elegance of his manners, and the ſplendour of his equipage, caſt round him a luſtre, which is ſuppoſed even to have dazzled the eyes of royalty; a private viſit that he paid to Anne, was received with a reproof, that favoured more of kindneſs than anger; but his preſumption had not eſcaped the obſervation of the cardinal; the vigilance of that miniſter was exerted to preclude all future correſpondence; on preparations of Buckingham for a ſecond embaſſy to Paris, he was informed by a meſſage from Lewis, that he muſt not think of ſuch a journey; and though he reluctantly abandoned the deſign, he ever after nouriſhed a deep reſentment againſt Richelieu, to whoſe ſuggeſtions he imputed his diſappointment. A. D. 1627.

He had already, in a wanton inſult, diſplayed the features of his imperious diſpoſition; he prevailed on Charles to ſend back to France all the domeſtics of that nation, who had attended Henrietta to England. The mareſ- A. D. 1627. 1628.

chal Baſſompierre was diſpatched by Lewis to the court of London, to remonſtrate againſt this infraction of the marriage articles; and though the addreſs of the ambaſſador rendered him acceptable to Charles, yet his efforts could only ſuſpend the increaſing jealouſy and enmity of Buckingham.

Implacable in his hatred, that haughty favourite now liſtened with pleaſure to the repreſentations of the duke of Soubiſe; in the naval victory over the Rochellers, the fleet of France had been reinforced by a ſquadron from England, and the ſubſequent peace had been concluded under the mediation of Charles; that monarch had aſſiſted in humbling the hugonots, and his honour was concerned in faithfully guaranteeing a treaty which his arms had compelled them to accept; when to theſe arguments were added the ſolicitations of Buckingham, and the clamours of his people, zealous for their oppreſſed proteſtant brethren, it is no wonder, that the reluctance of Charles was overwhelmed by their united force.

Before the mighty preparations of Richelieu could be completed, a fleet of an hundred ſail and an army of ſeven thouſand men, were fitted out for the invaſion of France. Both of theſe were entruſted to the command of the duke of Buckingham, who preſented himſelf with his armament before the harbour of Rochelle; but ſo ill-concerted were his meaſures, that the inhabitants refuſed to admit theſe formidable allies, of whoſe coming they had not been previouſly informed. Diſappointed in this expectation, the duke directed his operations againſt Rhé, an adjacent iſland, protected by a numerous garriſon and ſtrong fortifications; he landed his men, though with ſome loſs; and had he immediately urged his attacks, and not allowed Thoiras, the

the French governor, ſeveral days reſpite, he might probably have reduced St. Martin, the principal fortreſs of the iſland; but his negligence and unaccountable delay enabled the French to repleniſh the magazines, and reinforce the garriſon of that place. The Engliſh were repulſed in repeated attacks; detached and ſucceſſive bodies of troops were poured by the cardinal into the iſland; and Buckingham himſelf, after the loſs of two thirds of his original force, found it neceſſary to conſult his ſafety by a precipitate retreat. He conducted the rear in perſon, with a gallantry which in ſome meaſure effaced the diſgrace of defeat; but while the teſtimony of his companions eſtabliſhed the reputation of his courage, the voice of the public loudly impeached his ſkill and judgment.

The retreat of Buckingham was the ſignal for action to Richelieu. That miniſter had already ſecured, by ſeparate treaties, the alliance of Spain and the united provinces; his addreſs had repreſented to the court of Philip his treaty with the latter, as ſolely a temporary expedient to prevent their arming in defence of the reformed; he had recalled and pardoned the count of Soiſſons; and while he reſtrained the levity, had conciliated to his deſigns the inclinations of the duke of Orleans. The army that he had aſſembled was commanded by the king in perſon, and animated by the preſence of the principal nobility. The cardinal who accompanied his ſovereign, aſpired to the reputation of a general as well as a ſtateſman; he planned the lines of circumvallation; deſigned the different forts, and directed the attacks. To deprive the beſieged of all ſuccour, his boundleſs genius formed the project of throwing across the harbour, a mole of a mile's extent in that boiſterous ocean. His diligence daily urged and inſpected the work; but before

before it yet could be completed, the fleet of England, commanded by the earl Denbigh, once more appeared in view. The Rochellers crowded to their ramparts with the expectation of inſtant relief, and Richelieu trembled for the darling ſtructure which his daring ambition had ſuggeſted; but he was preſerved from diſgrace by the treachery or cowardice of the Engliſh admiral; and the earl of Denbigh, after throwing into the city a ſcanty ſupply of corn, declined an engagement with the fleet of France, and retired to Portſmouth. To efface the diſhonour of the Engliſh arms, the duke of Buckingham determined, in perſon, to reſume the command; but while his preſence haſtened the preparations, he fell a victim to the national indignation, and was aſſaſſinated by the hand of a fanatic, named Felton; who avowed himſelf prompted to the deed by the remonſtrance of the commons, that declared the duke the ſource of every national grievance, and the great enemy of the public.

The unhappy fate of Buckingham ſuſpended the armaments of England; each moment was aſſiduouſly employed by the cardinal; and he at length beheld the ſtupendous work completed, and enabled to defy the efforts of the enemy. In vain did the earl of Lindſay, who ſucceeded to the command of the Engliſh fleet, endeavour to force his way to the harbour. The mole, firmly and ſtrongly fortified, reſiſted and repelled the weight of his attacks. Hopeleſs of ſucceſs, he abandoned the Rochellers to deſpair, and ſteered back his courſe to England. The laſt ſpark of enthuſiaſm, which had ſo long inſpired the miſerable inhabitants of that city, expired with the ſignal of his retreat. While yet his ſails were in ſight, they conſented to ſurrender at diſcretion; and ſome idea may be formed of the miſeries

miſeries they had endured, ſince of fifteen thouſand perſons who had originally been ſhut up in Rochelle, four thouſand alone ſurvived the fatal effects of famine, fatigue, and the ſword.

The king entered the proſtrate city in triumph; and the fortune of the cardinal was ſtill more conſpicuous in the moment of ſubmiſſion, than even his genius had ſhone forth in the courſe of the ſiege. Scarce had the citizens opened their gates to implore the clemency of their ſovereign, before a tempeſt, ſo violent, agitated the ocean, as to bury in the waves the proud ſtructure that he had planned. Had the Rochellers perſevered but a few hours longer, the fury of the ſtorm had overwhelmed the pride of the cardinal, and preſerved their freedom; but the wretched inhabitants drew ſome conſolation from the pity of their monarch; their walls were indeed diſmantled; but their perſons and effects were ſpared; and the moderation of Lewis and his miniſter, ſatisfied with having broken the power of the hugonots, and wreſted from them their ancient aſylum, ſtill permitted them to enjoy an open and avowed toleration.

The celebrated duke of Leſdeguieres had expired amidſt the diſſentions of his country, without beholding the humiliation of the reformed, whoſe tenets he had formerly profeſſed, and whoſe principles he had ſucceſsfully vindicated with his ſword. On his deceaſe, the king reſolved to ſuppreſs the office of conſtable, a dignity that he thought raiſed the ſubject too near the throne; he obtained, at the ſame time, from the duke of Montmorency, the reſignation of the poſt of admiral, and committed the management of the marine to the vigilance of the cardinal. The genius of that aſpiring ſtateſman, which embraced every department, had juſtified the diſcernment of his ſovereign in the ſiege

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of Rochelle; but though his addreſs might baffle, his abilities could not extinguiſh, the hatred of a court; the ducheſs of Orleans had found her grave in the nuptial bed; after being delivered of a daughter, ſhe expired, lamented by her conſort, whoſe former reluctance her amiable qualities had converted into a lively affection; but the duke ſoon after reſumed his intrigues; his natural levity ſoon returned to efface the loſs of his late ducheſs; he profeſſed an ardent paſſion for Mary de Gonzagua, the daughter of the duke of Nevers; and his addreſſes to that lady were alternately renewed, or ſuſpended, as his own caprice inclined, and the intereſt of his favourites dictated.

A. D. 1629. The contempt of the cardinal for the ſee of Rome had been inſtanced in the expulſion of the eccleſiaſtical forces from the Valteline; ſuperior to the influence of religious ſuperſtition, from political motives alone, he had armed the power of the crown againſt the reformed; to exalt the glory of France and to depreſs the houſe of Auſtria, he now reſigned his own perſonal reſentments. On the death of Vincent duke of Mantua, his kinſman, the duke of Nevers, pleaded his claim as the next male in ſucceſſion to that duchy; but the emperor aſſerted his right as ſupreme prince, and beſtowed the inveſtiture on the duke of Guaſtalla; and the duke of Savoy alſo urged his pretenſions to the Marquiſate of Montferrat; both were ſupported by the forces and treaſures of Philip; the banners of Spain were diſplayed from the walls of Mantua; and the duke of Nevers could only loudly accuſe an uſurpation which he was incapable of reſiſting. He had incurred the diſpleaſure of the cardinal by entering into the cabals of his avowed enemies; he was expoſed to the perſecution of the queen-mother, who regarded, with

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open averſion and female rage, the paſſion of the duke of Orleans for Mary de Gonzagua; but in the mind of Richelieu, the intereſt of the ſtate ſuperſeded every other conſideration; and while he abandoned the ſenſe of his own injuries, he was deaf to the implacable enmity of Mary of Medicis. He adviſed the king of France to embrace the opportunity of ſupporting his own ſubject, the duke of Nevers, againſt the injuſtice of the houſe of Auſtria. The ardent ſpirit of the miniſter communicated itſelf to the monarch; and with the veterans whoſe diſcipline had been confirmed, and whoſe perſeverance had been exerciſed in the ſiege of Rochelle, Lewis, early in the enſuing ſpring, erected his ſtandard, and prepared to march to the relief of Caſal, which was beſieged by the forces of the confederates. The inclemency of the ſeaſon, the rugged tracts of the Alps in vain oppoſed his progreſs; he penetrated through the narrow paſs of Suza; and the duke of Savoy, alarmed at his approach, conſented to deſert his allies, and to negociate a treaty with France. He engaged to allow a free paſſage, and to ſupply with proviſions the forces of Lewis. He agreed, with his own army, to join the French ſtandard, and to chace the Spaniards from the walls of Caſal.

To the defence of that fortreſs, Lewis detached three thouſand choſen ſoldiers, under the command of Thoiras, who had already ſignalized his gallantry in the defence of the iſland of Rhé. The monarch himſelf, with his miniſter, animated by ſucceſs, traverſed again the Alps, and entered his kingdom to chaſtiſe the preſumption of the hugonots, The duke of Rohan, undiſmayed by the reduction of Rochelle, ſtill diſplayed the banner of revolt in Guienne, Languedoc, and the mountains of the Cevennes. Niſmes, Montauban, Caſtres, Privas,

Privas, and Alais, ſtill profeſſed the principles of the reformed, and declared their reſolution to ſeal their faith with their blood. While the cardinal oppreſſed by a ſlow and dangerous fever, ſought a tranſient repoſe from his toils, the king aſſaulted the walls of Privas, compelled the garriſon to ſurrender at diſcretion, and devoted the inhabitants, without exception of age or ſex, to the ſword. Richelieu, rejoiced at his abſence from the promiſcuous maſſacre which ſullied the victory of his ſovereign. This inſtance of ſeverity ſtruck terror indeed into the citizens of Alais; ſtrongly fortified, and amply provided, that place might long have reſiſted the attacks of the royal army; the gates were immediately opened on the approach of the king, and the duke of Rohan, too fatally convinced of the inability of the proteſtants any longer to defend themſelves by arms, ſigned a treaty, which reſtored the reformed to their eſtates and the free exerciſe of their religion, but deprived them in their fortified towns of the means of protecting either. He himſelf immediately after withdrew into honourable exile. But the citizens of Montauban rejected terms which involved their walls in deſtruction, and refuſed admittance to the prince of Condé, whoſe ſanguinary diſpoſition they dreaded. To the exhortations of Richelieu himſelf they were leſs inexorable; the cardinal with his guards were invited to enter the city; and the lenity with which he treated the inhabitants, added a milder luſtre to the glory that he had acquired by the ſucceſs of his martial enterpriſes.

A. D 1630. The enemies of Richelieu had again reſumed their intrigues, but their cabals proved fatal to themſelves, and ſerved to confirm the authority of the cardinal, who Lewis, by letters patent, inveſted with the title of *principal miniſter*.

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The duke of Savoy had availed himſelf of the late hoſtile operations againſt the proteſtants, had violated the treaty of Suza, and had joined the Spaniards in the ſiege of Caſal. To the title of miniſter, the king of France added that of lieutenant general; and the cardinal, poſſeſſed of all military and civil power, prepared to chaſtiſe the preſumption of the Savoyard. He croſſed again the Alps in perſon; and while he affected to liſten to terms of accommodation, continued his march with unwearied rapidity. The heads of his columns were already pointed towards Turin, and the duke was diligently occupied in preparing for the defence of his capital, when Richelieu, ſuddenly changing his direction, preſented himſelf before the gates of Pignerol; that important fortreſs, which opened a direct road from Dauphiné into Italy, was taken in twelve days; and the miniſter now ſummoned Lewis to the camp to ſhare the glory of his ambitious projects. With a veteran army of twenty-five thouſand men, the king of France overran and reduced the country of Savoy; Mazarin, afterwards ſo well known in France by the dignity of cardinal and the power of miniſter, was ſent to negociate with Lewis on behalf of the duke of Savoy; a partial ſuſpenſion of arms was all he could obtain; and that unhappy prince, who beheld his territories portioned out between his implacable enemies, and faithleſs allies, ſunk himſelf into the grave the victim of diſappointed ambition.

The death of the duke of Savoy facilitated the progreſs of the French. Revel, Ville Franche, and Poncallier, inſtantly capitulated; but their career of conqueſt was checked by a peſtilential diſorder, which thinned and debilitated the armies of France. The king himſelf indiſpoſed, and attended by the cardinal, had retired to Lyons; and the remnant

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of the troops under the mareſchals de la Force, Schomberg, and Marillac, were ordered to proceed to the relief of Caſal. Feeble and enervated by diſeaſe, the ardour of the generals inſpired the ſoldiers; they already beheld the walls of that fortreſs, and the camp of the beſiegers; but when they hourly expected the ſignal for engagement, they were preſerved from the encounter with the freſh and vigorous troops of Spain, by intelligence of the treaty of Ratiſbon, negociated by Mazarin, and which eſtabliſhed the duke of Nevers in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the duchy of Mantua, and the marquiſate of Montferrat.

The indiſpoſition of Lewis was attended by the moſt alarming ſymptoms, and in the danger of the monarch the miniſter beheld his own. His enemies, encouraged by the queen-mother, reſumed their hopes and intrigues; but when the phyſicians had even pronounced the recovery of Lewis impoſſible, a ſudden and favourable turn in his diſorder confounded the foes, and confirmed the authority of the cardinal. The moſt active of his enemies were diſgraced and arreſted; and Mary of Medicis herſelf was compelled to ſubmit to a feigned reconciliation with the haughty ſtateſman, whoſe influence over the mind of her ſon had overwhelmed his regard, and even reſpect for his parent.

A. D. 1631. Sweden emerging from obſcurity and animated by the heroic genius of the great Guſtavus, had already penetrated into Germany, and ſhaken by ſucceſſive victories the imperial deſpotiſm of the houſe of Auſtria; to ſecond her efforts the cardinal negociated a treaty, by which he engaged annually to ſupply Guſtavus with four hundred thouſand crowns; while he acquired with equal addreſs, by a ſecret article with the duke

duke of Savoy, the ſtrong fortreſs of Pignerol, and prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a French garriſon into Caſal. Yet even thoſe negociations ſo advantageous to his country, could not exempt him from the malice of his adverſaries; the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans ſtill retained their implacable enmity. But their adherents the princeſs of Conti, with the ducheſſes of Elbœuf and Leſdiguieres were ſentenced to exile, and the mareſchal Baſſompierre was committed to the Baſtile. Mary of Medicis eſcaped to Flanders from the ſtern juſtice of her ſon, and the inexorable reſentment of his miniſter; the duke of Orleans ſought ſhelter from the ſtorm in the court of Lorrain, and abandoning himſelf to his natural levity, eſpouſed Margaret the ſiſter of that prince.

The pride of the king of France was wounded by the preſumption of the duke of Lorrain, in affording ſhelter to, and contracting an alliance with his fugitive brother. Twice he invaded the territories of that prince, and twice compelled him to ſue for peace on the moſt humiliating conditions. Amidſt theſe alarms the duke of Orleans had quitted a court which could no longer afford him ſecurity, and had retired to his mother Mary of Medicis in Flanders. While Lewis purſued his career of victory in Lorrain, his brother having collected a feeble band of two thouſand followers, penetrated into Burgundy, exhorted the inhabitants to arm againſt the arrogance of the cardinal, and inſulted and deſtroyed the ſuburbs of Dijon. Chaced from thence by the mareſchal de la Force, he retreated into Auvergne, and purſued by mareſchal Schomberg, eſcaped with his miſerable train into Languedoc. The duke of Montmorency, who governed that province, received the brother of his ſovereign with open arms, and eſ- A. D. 1632.

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pouſed his deſigns with ardour. Though Thouloufe, the capital, maintained its loyalty, and proclaimed the adherents of the duke of Orleans rebels, yet the amiable qualities of Montmorency drew to Pezenas the principal nobility of the province; on theſe he beſtowed the title of ſtates of Languedoc; in an eloquent and ſpirited manifeſto he arraigned the pride, the inſolence, and the oppreſſive adminiſtration of the cardinal; and to ſupport his declarations by action, at the head of ten thouſand men, who had crowded to his ſtandard, he preſſed forwards to attack mareſchal Schomberg, who with four thouſand infantry had poſſeſſed himſelf of a ſtrong camp near Caſtelnaudari. The impetuous courage of Montmorency, with his cavalry alone, attacked the intrenchments of that general. His example inſpired his followers with the moſt heroic reſolution; the works of the royaliſts were pierced by their daring efforts; but while their leader diſplayed the valour of a ſoldier, he neglected the duties of a commander; his martial train, as they ruſhed on to improve their advantage, were betrayed into an ambuſcade and overwhelmed by ſuperior numbers; the duke of Montmorency, wounded in ſeveral places, and his horſe killed under him, was taken priſoner; and the duke of Orleans, informed of his fate, inſtead of endeavouring to retrieve the day, retreated with his ſcattered and diſheartned troops.

The inexorable juſtice of Lewis ſuffered not the duke of Montmorency long to languiſh in confinement; his proceſs was immediately formed before the parliament; he was ſentenced to loſe his head; and he expired on the ſcaffold with calm undaunted courage. Inferior only to his anceſtors in fortune, in him were extinguiſhed the male deſcendants of the houſe of Montmorency; and while the jealouſy

of Lewis refuſed to ſpare his life, his liberality enriched with his eſtates the prince of Condé, who had married his ſiſter.

While the fate of Montmorency was in ſuſpence, the duke of Orleans had endeavoured to obtain his pardon by profeſſions of future allegiance; but no ſooner had the deadly blow been given, than that prince retired again into Flanders. His abſence and intrigues gave but little uneaſineſs to the court of France. That kingdom each day became more conſcious of her own ſtrength, and of her weight in the political balance of Europe. The great Guſtavus, after repeatedly defeating the veteran troops of Ferdinand, and delivering Germany from the imperial yoke, cloſed in the arms of victory a life of ſplendid atchievements and military renown. The memorable fields of Lutzen, in which he triumphed and expired, raiſed again the drooping ſpirits of the houſe of Auſtria, who welcomed a defeat that was accompanied by the fate of their moſt formidable adverſary. But Richelieu, diligent to improve every event, concerted his meaſures with prudence and promptitude; he nouriſhed by continual ſubſidies the confederacy of the German princes; he ſecretly negociated with the united ſtates of Holland, and he recalled the duke of Rohan from exile, and entruſted to his abilities the command of the French forces in the Valteline.

Though Richelieu regarded with contempt the machinations of the duke of Orleans, he ſuffered not the authority of his ſovereign to be inſulted with impunity by the reiterated hoſtilities of the duke of Lorrain. He eaſily perſuaded Lewis to regard that prince as the abettor of the factious deſigns of his brother, and once more to invade his dominions. Luneville and Saint Mihel were rapidly reduced by the French; Nanci A. D. 1633. 1634.

was inveſted; and the unfortunate duke was compelled to ſurrender his capital as the pledge of his ſincerity, to deliver his ſiſter to the king of France, and to facilitate the diſſolution of her marriage with the duke of Orleans. But Lewis had ſcarce returned to Paris, before the duke of Lorrain having accompliſhed the eſcape of his ſiſter to Flanders, endeavoured to elude his engagements, and preſerve his people from the calamities of war, by magnanimouſly reſigning his territories to his brother Francis. This artifice could not avert the indignation of the cardinal; the mareſchal de la Force with a numerous army re-entered Lorrain, ſurprized the new duke and his conſort, and eſtabliſhed the authority of France throughout the whole duchy. The duke of Orleans, diſmayed by the deſtruction of his brother-in-law and ally, concluded a treaty of reconciliation, quitted Bruſſels alone, and threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis. But though he conſented to live at Blois ſeparate from his conſort, he perſevered, with a degree of conſtancy unuſual in his conduct, to maintain the validity of his marriage.

While the cardinal counteracted with ſucceſs his domeſtic enemies, he was alarmed by the progreſs of the foreign foes of France, and the returning proſperity of the houſe of Auſtria. At Nordlingen the victories of Guſtavus were effaced by the total defeat of the Swedes; and the imperialiſts beheld twenty thouſand of their adverſaries lifeleſs on the field. The policy of Richelieu revived their fainting courage with liberal and conſtant pecuniary ſupplies; but at the ſame time he ſtipulated for the immediate poſſeſſion of Philipſburgh and Spires in Germany; and the ceſſion of Alſace on the frontiers of Lorrain, as ſoon as he declared war againſt Spain.

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Though long averſe to plunge his country into an open conteſt with the houſe of Auſtria, the ſituation of his allies allowed Lewis no further delay. The forces of the emperor had already occupied Philipſburgh; and the cardinal concluded a ſecret treaty with the united provinces of Holland. On the intelligence of this hoſtile negociation, the court of Spain determined by activity and vigour to anticipate the deſigns of her enemies; ſhe poured her forces into Treves, ſurprized the capital, and ſeized the elector, who had acceded to the league with France. This bold and ſucceſsful enterpriſe was reſented by France by an open declaration of war. The mareſchals Chatillon and Breze were commanded to march to the ſupport of the prince of Orange, then in the neighbourhood of Maeſtricht; in their progreſs they encountered and defeated with cruel ſlaughter the forces of Spain, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy. Animated by ſucceſs, and joined by the prince of Orange, they forced open the gates of Tillemont, and inveſted Louvain; but the diſſentions of the commanders compelled them to abandon this enterpriſe with diſgrace; and an army which threatened to ſubvert the authority of Philip throughout Flanders, was waſted in vain attempts, or conſumed by fatigue and diſeaſe.

It was not alone by arms that Richelieu endeavoured to ſupport the glory of his country. His arts detached from the court of Spain the dukes of Savoy and Parma; and mareſchal Crequi was inſtructed in concert with thoſe princes, to aſſert the liberties of Italy. He was defeated on the banks of the Po, by the ſuperior forces of the Spaniards, and loudly impeached the envy and diſcontent of the duke of Savoy, as the ſource of his miſfortune.

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The king had beheld with impatience not only his foreign conqueſts ſhaken, but even his hereditary dominions inſulted; the duke of Lorrain had eluded the vigilance of his guards, and eſcaped from confinement; his appearance in that duchy revived the zeal of his ſubjects; ſeveral important places opened their gates to him; but his career was checked by the unexpected preſence of Lewis himſelf, who at the head of a ſmall army haſtily aſſembled, flew to maintain his former acquiſitions, retook Saint Michel, and returned triumphant to Paris; while the duke of Rohan emulated in the Valteline the glory of his ſovereign, and in two bloody and ſucceſſive engagements broke in that country the ſtrength of the imperialiſts and Spaniards.

A. D. 1636. Metz was reduced by the forces of the Emperor, but the Germans were compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Colmar by the cardinal Valette; who, deſpiſing the tranquil duties of the church, in imitation of Richelieu, aſpired to military glory. The Spaniards on their ſide poſſeſſed themſelves of St. John de Luz; but in Italy they were defeated by the ſkill and valour of the duke of Savoy; yet this misfortune was ſoon repaired, and Spain, after ravaging the territories of the duke of Parma, now meditated a more important enterpriſe.

To ſupport the war in ſo many different quarters, France had ſtripped of troops the frontier of Picardy, and expoſed it to the incurſions of her enemies. The Spaniſh army, commanded by prince Thomas of Savoy, and reinforced by the celebrated Picolomini, entered the defenceleſs province, occupied Capelle and Catelet, paſſed the Somme in defiance of the French troops under the count of Soiſſons, and in leſs than a week reduced the ſtrong town of Corbie.

Corbie. The Pariſians liſtened with conſternation to the rapid and unexpected approach of their foes; the capital was filled with terror and confuſion; the ſovereign involved himſelf in a ſilent and gloomy deſpondence; but the cardinal diſplayed a fortitude and magnanimity worthy of his elevated fortunes. He threw himſelf on the confidence of the public; he diſmiſſed thoſe guards which the partiality of the king had aſſigned him; and ever fruitful in expedients, called forth on this emergency the reſources of the ſtate. The horſes and domeſtics of the wealthy, the perſonal ſervice of the poor, were demanded to encounter the impending danger. The ſcattered bands of France were ſoon ſwelled to an hoſt of fifty thouſand men. Richelieu would willingly have aſſumed the command himſelf, but the count of Soiſſons refuſed to ſerve under him; and the cardinal entruſted the fate of France to that prince, and the duke of Orleans, whoſe jealouſy of each other he imagined would prevent them from combining in any intrigues dangerous to his authority.

The diſcernment of the cardinal on this occaſion deſerted him; the two generals acted with perfect unanimity, compelled the Spaniards to repaſs the Somme, and retook Corbie; but at the ſame time they concerted the deſtruction of Richelieu, and Amiens was fixed upon as the ſcene of his aſſaſſination. At the moment when the conſpirators expected the ſignal from the duke of Orleans, the reſolution of that prince forſook him, and he declared that his conſcience would not permit him to ſhed the blood of a cardinal, an archbiſhop, and a prieſt. The miniſter was not apprized of his danger till it was paſſed. The duke of Orleans haſtily retired to Blois, and the count of Soiſſons ſought ſhelter in Sedan; but the cardinal was unwilling at this critical

critical juncture to increaſe his own enemies, and thoſe of the public. He prevailed on Lewis to treat both the princes with lenity; the duke of Orleans was ſoon reconciled, by acknowledging the validity of his marriage; and the count of Soiſſons was permitted to enjoy the income of his eſtates in exile.

A. D. 1637. The enſuing campaign opened with events the moſt inauſpicious to France. The duke of Parma, beſieged in Placentia, was compelled to renounce the alliance of that crown. The duke of Rohan, neglected by cardinal Richelieu, who ſtill regarded him with jealouſy, after exhauſting his private credit, was conſtrained to evacuate the Valteline. But theſe diſaſters were followed by a ſeries of ſplendid ſucceſs; the count of Harcourt recovered in Provence the iſlands of St. Margaret and St. Honoret; the duke of Valette reduced ſeveral forts which the Spaniards had ſeized in Guienne; mareſchal Schomberg raiſed the ſiege of Lucat, and defeated Serbellon the Spaniſh general; cardinal de la Valette again planted the ſtandard of France on the walls of Capelle; the mareſchal de Chatillon ſucceſsfully inveſted Damvilliers in Luxemburg; and the duke of Longueville extended his conqueſts in Franche-Compté. In Italy, the duke of Savoy, ſeconded by mareſchal Crequi, triumphed over the Spaniards led by the duke of Modena; and in the Netherlands, the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange compelled the garriſon of Breda to ſurrender.

A. D. 1638. The flame of ſuperſtition was nouriſhed amidſt the devaſtations of war; and Lewis, to propitiate the favour of heaven, ſolemnly ſubmitted his kingdom to the protection of the holy virgin. The duke of Weimar, who had been trained to arms in the ſchool of Guſtavus, and who maintained

maintained an independent authority over an army of various nations, was ſupplied from the treaſures of France; he was however ſurpriſed and routed in the ſiege of Rheinfeld; the duke of Rohan, who had accompanied him from eſteem, here received his mortal wound, and cloſed a life of virtue and glory. But the duke of Weimar within a few days effaced his diſgrace by the total defeat of his enemies. Four imperial generals in chains atteſted his triumph, and the towns of Rheinfeld, Fribourg, and Briſac, acknowledged the dominion of the victor.

The death of the duke of Savoy rather increaſed than diminiſhed the influence of France; his widow, the ſiſter of Lewis, was appointed regent during the minority of her infant ſon; and Richelieu reſolved to retaliate on Spain the invaſion of Picardy by the ſiege of Fontarabia. But the prince of Condé, to whom that enterpriſe was confided, was defeated, by the admiral of Caſtile, and with the remnant of his army with difficulty eſcaped to his ſhips. This miſcarriage was balanced by a domeſtic event of the higheſt importance. The queen was at length delivered of a ſon, whoſe birth, while it ſecured the peaceable ſucceſſion to the throne, contributed to check the turbulent levity of the duke of Orleans, and to eſtabliſh the power of the cardinal.

The duke of Weimar, while his vigorous age and mature judgment promiſed A. D. 1639. him a long and ſplendid career of glory, expired after a ſhort illneſs; Richelieu had in vain endeavoured to perſuade him to part with his new acquiſition of Briſac; and his death at this critical period was not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. By whatever means it was accompliſhed, the cardinal with his uſual dexterity availed himſelf of his deceaſe; he procured

procured from his ſucceſſors in command not only Briſac, but Fribourg alſo; and he prevailed on his army to acknowledge the authority of the duke of Longueville.

In Piedmont, the brothers of the late duke of Savoy diſputed with his widow the ſucceſſion to the regency. Supported by the marquis of Leganez, they ſurpriſed Chivas, were received into Quiers, Montcallier, and Goree; and aſſaulted Turin ſo ſuddenly, that the ducheſs had ſcarce time to retire into the citadel; from thence ſhe retreated to Grenoble, where ſhe had a perſonal interview with her brother; Lewis lamented her misfortunes, without affording her hopes of ſupport. The defeat of the marquis of Feuquieres by Picolomini increaſed the embarraſſments of France; and though the count of Harcourt in Piedmont recovered Quiers, and eluded the ſuperior forces of the marquis of Leganez and prince Thomas, his conduct and military ſkill were rather honourable to himſelf, than of eſſential ſervice to the ducheſs of Savoy.

In the Low Countries, the marquis of Meilleraie reduced Heſdin, and acquired the baton of mareſchal. But the continuance of the war had already oppreſſed the people with heavy impoſts, and the peaſants of Normandy tumultuouſly aſſembled, and broke out in acts of open outrage. The parliament of Rouen was ſuſpended for their neglect and lenity; and the chancellor Seguier, who was detached with ſix thouſand troops to puniſh the guilty, determined to avoid a ſimilar accuſation, and extinguiſhed the inſurrection with the lives of the inſurgents.

In Rouſillon, Salces, which had been captured by the prince of Condé, was recovered by the Spaniards; but the count of Harcourt acquired freſh laurels in Piedmont. He relieved Caſal, beſieged by

by the marquis of Leganez; and retook Turin, though defended by prince Thomas of Savoy in perſon. At ſea, the French obtained a deciſive victory over the fleet of Spain; and in the Netherlands the mareſchals Chaulnes, Chatillon, and Meilleraie, inveſted Arras. The cardinal infant, brother to Philip the Fourth, who had advanced to the relief of it, was repulſed at the moment that he thought himſelf ſecure of victory; and the city, after a defence of thirty-five days, was compelled to ſurrender.

But more deep and deadly wounds were A. D. 1640. 1641.
inflicted on Spain by the imprudence of her own miniſters than by the enterpriſes of Richelieu. The Catalans, indignant at the open violation of their ancient privileges, erected the ſtandard of revolt. And Portugal, diſdaining any longer a dependant ſituation, ſhook off the yoke of Philip, and raiſed to the throne John duke of Braganza. To the ſupport of the former, Lewis detached the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, who reduced the city of Conſtantin; and with the latter he concluded a ſtrict and ſolemn alliance. Meanwhile in Germany the count of Guebriant who had been educated to war under the duke of Weimar, maintained againſt the imperialiſts the glory of the French name; and the viſcount Turenne, a pupil of the ſame ſchool, happily ſeconded in Piedmont the efforts of the count of Harcourt.

The diſcontent and flight of the count of Soiſſons have already been noticed; in his exile of Sedan he ſtill nouriſhed his enmity to the cardinal; and ſupported by the dukes of Bouillon and Guiſe, he determined openly to purſue the emotions of his reſentment. Richelieu, ſenſible of his deſigns, detached mareſchal Chatillon with ten thouſand men to inveſt Sedan, and reduce him to ſubmiſſion. But the

the count was reinforced by a Spaniſh army under general Lamboi, and encountered the royal forces in the battle of Marfee. The troops of the mareſchal were already broken and diſperſed, when the fruits of victory were raviſhed from the conſpirators by the death of the count himſelf, who periſhed by a random ball. The circumſtances of his fate were dark and myſterious; but the policy of the cardinal prevailed on the king to conſign to oblivion the guilt of his aſſociates, and the duke of Bouillon was again admitted to the preſence of his ſovereign, and permitted to retain the principality of Sedan.

A. D. 1641 1642. In the Netherlands, Aire was captured by the mareſchal Meilleraie, and recovered again by the Spaniards; but it was in Rouſillon, the poſſeſſion of which would enable him effectually to ſuccour the Catalans, that the cardinal was determined to make the moſt vigorous efforts. Diſeaſe had long preyed upon his ſinking frame, but his mind ſtill roſe ſuperior to pain and laſſitude. His ardent ſpirit kindled the flame of martial ambition in Lewis; and though the declining health of the monarch threatened his ſpeedy diſſolution, yet he liſtened with pleaſure to the manly counſels of his miniſter, and prepared, with Richelieu, to accompany the army into Rouſillon; but at Narbonne the indiſpoſition of the cardinal increaſed to ſuch a dangerous height, as compelled him reluctantly to ſtop there, while the king, with the mareſchals Meilleraie and Schomberg purſued his route, and encamped under the hoſtile walls of Perpignan.

A. D. 1642. While Lewis in perſon preſſed the ſiege of that city, and Richelieu languiſhed on the bed of ſickneſs, a confederacy was formed, that promiſed to extinguiſh the power and ſhorten the

the fleeting moments of the latter. The lively temper, agreeable addreſs, and elegant perſon, of Cinq Mars, the ſecond ſon of mareſchal d'Effiet, ſeconded by the recommendations of the cardinal, had rendered him peculiarly acceptable to the king; but the favourite, haughty, and intractable, regarded with averſion the ſuperior aſcendancy of the miniſter; Richelieu had repreſſed his ambition that aſpired to the ducal honours of France; and the gratitude of Cinq Mars, for paſt favours, was overwhelmed by reſentment. Weak himſelf, and incapable of great deſigns, he liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of M. de Thou, the ſon of the celebrated hiſtorian; by the advice of that gentleman, he connected himſelf with the dukes of Orleans and Bouillon; and ſoon after, in conjunction with thoſe princes, formed a ſecret alliance with the court of Spain. The duke of Bouillon was to have the command of the army, and engaged, in caſe of danger to receive the duke of Orleans into Sedan; while Philip the Fourth promiſed to furniſh the conſpirators with ample ſupplies of money and a formidable body of troops.

But theſe intrigues, however ſecretly conducted, could not eſcape the jealous vigilance of the cardinal. On the firſt intimation, he preſſed Lewis to quit the walls of Perpignan, and to repair to Narbonne. The defeat of the mareſchal Grammont, on the banks of the Scheld, diſpoſed the monarch to liſten to the ſolicitations of his miniſter, in whoſe abilities he alone could confide to retrieve the diſaſter; the cardinal, in this interview, is ſuppoſed bitterly to have reproached his ſovereign; and Lewis acknowledged that Cinq Mars had frequently urged him to the deſtruction of Richelieu. By the advice of that ſtateſman, the king proceeded to his capital, after inveſting the cardinal with diſcretionary

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nary powers for the deſtruction of his enemies. The duke of Orleans made an ample confeſſion; but though he refuſed publicly to bear evidence againſt his confederates, his life, as brother to the king, was reſpected; the duke of Bouillon purchaſed his pardon by the ceſſion of his principality of Sedan; but Cinq Mars and de Thou were condemned to atone for their preſumption on the ſcaffold; the morning of their execution brought intelligence of the ſurrender of Perpignan; and Richelieu appriſed the king of both events by a ſingle and expreſſive line. "Your troops are in Perpignan, and your enemies in the grave."

Mary of Medicis at Cologne cloſed a life, embittered by the diſcord of her ſons, and her own exile; the filial affection which Lewis had denied to her while living, was revived on the news of her death; but the attention of France was engroſſed by the approaching diſſolution of him whoſe daring counſels had driven her into baniſhment, and whoſe implacable vengeance had ſhed, by the hands of the executioner, the nobleſt blood of France. The glories and life of Richelieu now drew near their end; after the reduction of Perpignan, exhauſted in body, but ſtill vigorous in mind, he had approached the capital by ſlow and triumphant journies; his laſt moments atteſted his aſcendancy over his ſovereign, and were ſtill terrible to his enemies. On his death bed, he proteſted to Lewis, that his counſels had ever been directed to the honour of the crown and the welfare of the kingdom; and he terminated his ſplendid career with a fortitude and ſerenity that aſtoniſhed thoſe who had beheld the ſanguinary effects of his adminiſtration.

Three mighty and ſucceſsful projects immortalize the period of his government. He humbled the turbulent ſpirits of the great; he ſubdued the ſtubborn

born zeal of the hugonots; and he curbed the encroaching power of the houſe of Auſtria. Undaunted and implacable, prudent and active, no combinations of the powerful nobles could withſtand his vengeance, no intrigues could elude his penetration; while he exalted the throne, he controlled a ſovereign impatient of rule and jealous of his authority; and while he extinguiſhed the liberties of the people, he eſtabliſhed among them diſcipline and order, and opened to them the paths to learning and renown.

A. D. 1643. From the death of Richelieu, Lewis aſpired to hold the reins of government himſelf. Mazarin, for whom the late miniſter had obtained a cardinal's hat, and to whom he had lately imparted his confidence, was indeed introduced into the council; but the ſervants of the crown were detained in their former departments, and the only change that appeared, was recalling from baniſhment, and releaſing from confinement, the moſt illuſtrious objects of the cardinal's jealouſy or reſentment. The war was ſtill proſecuted with diligence and vigour, and the ſpirit of Richelieu ſeemed ſtill to impel the machine which his genius had firſt ſet in motion. In Germany, the count of Guebriant, and the Swediſh general Tottenſon, triumphed over the imperialiſts; in Piedmont, Lorrain, Rouſſillon, and Catalonia, the mareſchals Schomberg, Meilleraie, l'Hopital, and Houdancourt, in ſucceſſive victories, ſuſtained the glory, and increaſed the dominion of France.

But the ſucceſs of his arms could not check the progreſs of diſeaſe; and Lewis was ſenſible that the inevitable moment was rapidly approaching, when his reign and his life muſt terminate together. A ſlow fever inceſſantly hung upon him; and his body exhibited the ſymptoms of gradual but certain

tain decay. The tender years of his ſons expoſed the kingdom once more to thoſe diſſentions which had lately been ſo happily extinguiſhed; and anxious for the welfare of his children and people, he diligently revolved in what hands to place the reins of government. Anne of Auſtria, the partner of his bed, had never partook of his confidence; and his brother, the duke of Orleans, had forfeited his eſteem by his levity, and incurred his enmity by his ſeditious intrigues.

At length he publiſhed to the world the plan that he had ſecretly meditated; and endeavoured, by diſtributing into different hands the power that he bequeathed, to counterbalance the aſpiring hopes of each, and to ſecure the tranquil minority of the dauphin. The queen indeed was appointed ſole regent, with the care of her children; but the duke of Orleans was declared head of the council, and lieutenant general throughout the kingdom. In caſe of his death this truſt was firſt to be devolved on the prince of Condé, and afterwards on the cardinal Mazarin. Buthillier, ſuper-intendant of the finances, and his ſon Chavigni, were nominated to the council, in which all affairs were to be decided by a majority of voices. The queen and the duke of Orleans ſwore ſolemnly to preſerve inviolate the deed which they had ſubſcribed; and Lewis, to render it ſtill more authentic, commanded it to be regiſtered in parliament.

He now prepared to meet, with firm compoſure, the laſt ſcene of human greatneſs; when his phyſician, at his earneſt deſire, numbered the fleeting minutes that remained, and pronounced that his life could not exceed two or three hours, he received the intelligence with avowed ſatisfaction, and looking fervently up to heaven, added, "Well! my God, I conſent with all my heart!" The prediction

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was verified by the event; and he expired ſoon after, in the forty-ſecond year of his age, and on the very day that he had completed the thirty-third of his reign. In eſtimating his character, on ſeveral occaſions his perſonal courage ſhone forth with ſuperior luſtre; but though jealous of his authority, he reluctantly yielded to the aſcendancy of Richelieu; and the epithet of Juſt, which he attained, was frequently impeached by his ſeverity, and ſometimes by his cruelty.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Acceſſion of Lewis the Fourteenth—Regency of Anne of Auſtria—Victories of the prince of Condé over the Spaniards and Imperialiſts—Adminiſtration of Mazarin—Civil wars—Conqueſts of Mareſchal Turenne—Treaty of Pyrenees—Revolution in England—Marriage of the King of France—Death and character of Cardinal Mazarin.

A. D. 1643. THE will of Lewis the Thirteenth, during his life had been continually oppoſed, and after his death it was openly violated; his reſolution of eſtabliſhing a council of regency was inſtantly rejected; and his widow, Anne of Auſtria, by an arret of the parliament of Paris, was inveſted with unlimited powers; ſhe ſoon reſigned herſelf to the influence of cardinal Mazarin, a native of the little town of Piſcina, in the Abruzzo; his political knowledge and addreſs had introduced him to the confidence of Richelieu, and he now acquired that aſcendancy over the mind of his royal miſtreſs, as Richelieu had maintained over her deceaſed conſort.

Lewis the Fourteenth, the luſtre of whoſe reign afterwards attached to his name the envied appellation of *Great*, had not yet completed his fifth year, and the kingdom was left involved in a bloody and extenſive war with the houſe of Auſtria; but the ſituation of Europe was favourable to the deſigns of France. The kingdom of Portugal had ſhaken off the Spaniſh yoke, and eſtabliſhed the duke of Braganza, as John the Fourth, on the throne; the Catalans

Catalans ſtill diſplayed the banner of revolt; the united provinces had been cheriſhed and protected by Henry the Fourth and Lewis the Thirteenth; the ſceptre of Sweden was in the hands of Chriſtina, the celebrated, but eccentric daughter of the great Guſtavus, and her generals ſtill maintained in war the glory of their country; while, in England, Charles the Firſt, inheriting from his father his fatal and lofty ideas of royal prerogative, had already kindled the flame of civil war throughout that iſland.

Lewis of Bourbon, duke of Enguien, ſon to the prince of Condé, had been appointed to the command of the French forces on the frontiers of Flanders, previous to the death of Lewis the Thirteenth; on intelligence of that event, he determined to attack the army of Spain, engaged in the ſiege of Rocroi; the remonſtrances of mareſchal de l'Hopital were overborne by his ardour; and in the execution of his deſign, the fire of youth was united with ſkill and judgment, ſcarce to be found in age. The Spaniſh infantry till then deemed invincible, was broken by his impetuous charge; the count of Fuentes, who commanded it, periſhed on the field; nine thouſand ſlaughtered enemies, and twenty pieces of cannon, atteſted the deciſive victory of France, and uſhered in the dawning glory of her general.

Thionville, on the banks of the Moſelle, A. D. 1643. had excited the deſires, and awed the 1644. aſpiring genius of Richelieu; it now yielded to the arms of the duke of Enguien, who rapidly traverſed the Rhine, and advanced to avenge the death of the count of Guebriant, who had glorioufly fallen in the ſucceſsful ſiege of Rotwil. The imperialiſts had availed themſelves of the fate of that general, and the diſſentions of his ſucceſſors in command, by the

total defeat of the French near Tudelingen; but this diſgrace was effaced by the valour and ſkill of the duke of Enguien, who attacked and forced the imperial army under the walls of Fribourg; General Merci, though vanquiſhed, ſtill maintained his reputation, and, by his retreat, extorted the admiration of his adverſary; who ſwept with his victorious troops Philipſburgh and Mentz, Worms and Oppenheim, with the forts along the courſe of the Rhine.

A. D. 1645. 1646. In Flanders the duke of Orleans reduced Gravelines, Mardyke, and Coutrai; but the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt was defeated in Catalonia; and the victory of Tortenſon, the Swediſh general, over the imperialiſts at Tabor, was more than balanced by the ſurpriſe of mareſchal Turenne at Mariendal; this diſgrace, the greateſt that ever befel that celebrated commander, ſummoned once more the duke of Enguien to the frontiers of Germany. The laurels which Merci had ſo lately acquired, were torn from his brow in the plains of Nordlingen; but the indignant hero ſcorned to ſurvive defeat, and he obtained a glorious death, which even the victor could not but envy; three thouſand imperialiſts periſhed on the field with their general; two thouſand acknowledged, in captivity, the ſuperior fortune of the duke of Enguien; who, after adding Dunkirk to the dominions of France, returned to the capital to reſtore his health ſhaken by fatigues, and to meditate new triumphs.

A. D 1647. But his ſplendid career of glory, inſtead of exciting the gratitude, had awakened the jealouſy of the court; and, by the envy of Mazarin, he was detached into Catalonia with a feeble and ill-provided army. By the death of his father, the title of prince of Condé had devolved on

him and the admiration of the public annexed to it the epithet of *Great*; but his ſlender force allowed him not on that theatre to rival his former actions; and he was compelled to retire from the walls of Lerida, which had been ſucceſſively and ineffectually aſſaulted by the mareſchal de la Mothe Houdancourt, and the count of Grammont.

Naples had revolted againſt the authority of Spain, and was long defended by the duke of Guiſe, the laſt prince of that branch of Lorrain, and who was inferior to his anceſtors in fortune alone. In Germany the mareſchal Turenne, in conjunction with the Swedes, defeated the imperial generals Melander and Montecuculli; his ſucceſs influenced Spain to acknowledge the united provinces as free and independent ſtates; and by a ſecond treaty ſubſcribed at Munſter, the emperor, alarmed at the progreſs of the Swedes, who had inſulted and plundered part of Prague, conſented to purchaſe peace by ceding to France the biſhoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with his pretenſions to Pignerol, Briſac, and Alſace; he permitted that crown alſo to retain a garriſon in Philipſburg, and Pomerania, conceſſions ſtill more liberal and important. A. D. 1647. 1648.

Philip the Fourth, by his treaty with the Dutch, had deprived France of an important ally, and had delivered himſelf from a ſtubborn and perſevering enemy. He now renewed, with increaſe of vigour, his operations in Flanders, where the prince of Condè had reſumed the command. That general inveſted and reduced Ypres; and the archduke Leopold, to balance this acquiſition, aſſaulted and carried Coutrai, poſſeſſed himſelf of Furnes, and laid ſiege to Lens; to the relief of that place the prince of Condè advanced, and had the mortification of beholding it ſurrendered in his A. D. 1648.

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view. But this tranſient diſgrace was effaced by a victory the moſt ſplendid and deciſive; "My "friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Nord-"lingen," was his ſhort but animating addreſs; and the ſuperior numbers of the Spaniards were broken by the charge of a hero, and the enthuſiaſtic confidence of his followers; five thouſand periſhed on the field, three thouſand became priſoners, and the archduke himſelf with difficulty eſcaped the purſuit of the victors.

But while France triumphed in her own ſucceſſes and thoſe of her allies, the moment approached, doomed to ſhake her power and glory to the foundation by the rage of contending factions. Though Mazarin had affected moderation in his conduct, and baniſhed that pomp in which Richelieu had involved himſelf, yet his adminiſtration was far from acceptable to the public. As a foreigner, they regarded him with jealouſy; and the taxes that the profuſion or the neceſſities of the government compelled him to impoſe, converted that paſſion into hatred. The parliament of Paris refuſed to regiſter the edicts for the new impoſts; and the court, to inforce its authority, arreſted Blancmenil, the preſident, and the counſellor Brouſſel; this violent ſtep was the ſignal for inſtant ſedition. The barricadoes of the league were immediately revived; all Paris was in arms; and the ſafety of the queen was only to be ſecured by the releaſe of the priſoners.

A. D. 1605. But the regent and her miniſter nouriſhed in their boſoms a lively reſentment of the inſult; from the caprice and fury of a ſeditious multitude, they eſcaped with the infant king to the royal reſidence of Saint Germains; they were accompanied by the duke of Orleans; and the queen ſoon ſummoned to her defence the victor of Rocroi,

Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen, and Lens. The adverſe faction, who aſſumed the name of the *Fronde*, and maintained poſſeſſion of the capital, were inſpired by the genius and intriguing ſpirit of the coadjutor, afterwards the cardinal of Retz, who, with the habit of a prieſt, diſplayed a diſpoſition ſuited to camps and courts; and licentious in his manners and profligate in his morals, acquired an aſcendancy over the minds of the people, without condeſcending to throw a veil over his vices, or employing the popular pretext of religion.

Ardent in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, the parliament ſoon eſtabliſhed a revenue for the ſupport of the war; and the citizens with pleaſure, deluded by the name of freedom, ſubmitted to taxes far more burthenſome than thoſe that had excited their clamours; the prince of Conti, envious of the fame of his brother the prince of Condé, with the dukes of Longueville, Bouillon, and Beaufort, devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the parliament. Troops were levied with diligence; and the coadjutor himſelf raiſed a regiment, which from his titular archbiſhopric was called the regiment of Corinth; the zeal of the Pariſians laviſhly ſupplied them with money, the ſinews of war; while the royaliſts experienced the ſevereſt diſtreſs, and the queen was reduced to pledge the jewels of the crown to alleviate the neceſſities of her court.

But that court was ſtill formidable from the renown and abilities of the prince of Condé; with an army of ſcarce eight thouſand ſoldiers, he blocked up a city that contained five hundred thouſand citizens; and though the mareſchal Turenne was allured by the charms of the ducheſs of Longueville to embrace the oppoſite party, yet his military talents but little availed him, when only ſeconded by an undiſciplined rabble. At length the leaders on each

ſide obtained the particular objects of their avarice or ambition; the public good was buried in ſtudied ſilence; the ſtorm for a moment was huſhed; and the court returned to the deſerted capital.

The tempeſt of civil diſcord which had been felt in France, afflicted England with uncommon violence; that iſland preſented a new and ſolemn ſpectacle; a ſovereign was arraigned before the tribunal of his ſubjects; and the unhappy Charles was condemned to atone with his life for the violation of the laws of his country. He expired on a ſcaffold; his children were driven into exile; and a ſucceſsful uſurper, erecting himſelf on the ruins of the conſtitution under the title of protector, ruled England with abſolute ſway.

A. D. 1650. 1651. But in France, the enthuſiaſtic flame of freedom, which had glowed in the boſoms of the Engliſh, was ſtill unknown; that people indeed again reſumed their arms, and turned their ſwords againſt each other; but the chiefs not unfrequently ranged themſelves under the banner of ſome celebrated beauty; and the prince of Condé, and the coadjutor de Retz, as caprice or intereſt dictated, perſecuted or ſupported the cardinal Mazarin. The court alternately abdicated or occupied the capital; and the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke of Longueville, were at length the victims of their adverſaries artifices; they were ſuddenly arreſted, and conveyed to the caſtle of Vincennes; the giddy populace, who had regarded their fate with indifference, in leſs than a year vented their diſconted in loud and opprobrious clamours; and Mazarin, who had cauſed their impriſonment, was reduced to releaſe them in perſon, and to ſeek ſhelter himſelf in baniſhment from the rage of the multitude.

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During theſe convulſions of the ſtate, Lewis the fourteenth had attained the age fixed for his aſſuming the reins of government, and his majority was ſolemnly declared in parliament; but he was ſtill influenced by the counſels of his mother, and ſeemed to inherit her fond partiality for Mazarin. The prince of Condé, ſenſible of the implacable reſentment of the queen, quitted Paris to arm in his ſupport the provinces of Guienne, Poitou, and Anjou; and to ally himſelf with the very Spaniards, on whoſe defeat he had founded his martial glory; while the cardinal, at the head of an army levied at his own expence and devoted to his ſervice, reſumed his former ſtation, and menaced the deſtruction of his enemies.

The parliament ſtill regarded that miniſter with peculiar deteſtation, and even publicly fixed a price on his head; but with an inconſiſtency which characteriſed their proceedings, they alſo declared the prince of Condé an enemy to the ſtate. While they exhorted the forces that the duke of Orleans had raiſed to march againſt the former, they ſtrictly prohibited any part of the public revenue from being diverted to their ſubſiſtence; their reſolutions had at length fallen into contempt, and the rival factions diſdaining their mediation, prepared to terminate their differences by the ſword. Condé, in league with the Spaniards, appeared in the field againſt the king; and the mareſchal Turenne, who had returned to his allegiance, avowed himſelf the champion of the court.

Near the banks of the Loire the hoſtile armies regarded with a jealous eye each others motions; when the prince, who had traverſed in diſguiſe, and through the poſts of his adverſaries, the extent of country from Agen to the foreſt of Orleans, joined his forces, and immediately prepared to improve the

the confidence and boldneſs with which his preſence had inſpired them. He attacked that diviſion of the royal army which was poſted at Bleneau, under the command of the mareſchal d'Hocquincourt, and in a moment their ranks were broken by his impetuous charge. The panic in an inſtant communicated itſelf from the camp to the court; and the miniſter propoſed to ſave the king by flight, and convey him privately to Bourges. But this diſgraceful expedient was averted by the ſkill and conſtancy of the mareſchal Turenne. With the remnant of his army he availed himſelf of every favourable inequality of ground, reſtored the ſinking ſpirits of the great, and confirmed in their allegiance the wavering multitude; Paris indeed received the victor with loud acclamations; but his popularity was tranſient; the coadjutor, now become cardinal of Retz, no longer the idol of the people, governed with abſolute ſway the mind of the duke of Orleans, and ſtimulated that prince to offer himſelf to the citizens as the competitor of Condé. The commanding genius that diſtinguiſhed the latter in the field, could ill ſtoop to the cabals of a faction; the duke of Lorrain, who had promiſed to join his arms, was bribed to deſert his cauſe by Mazarin; his troops were already enervated by the pleaſures of the capital; and with ſecret ſatisfaction he liſtened to the approach of Turenne, whoſe appearance again ſummoned him to the proper theatre of his glory.

In the ſuburbs of Saint Antoine the martial train of the prince was encompaſſed and oppreſſed by the ſuperior numbers of the royaliſts. From a neighbouring eminence the king beheld the unequal conflict in which the blood of his nobleſt ſubjects was ſhed; but the citizens of Paris affected to maintain a perfect neutrality, and ſhut their gates againſt each party;

party; the duke of Orleans, with the cardinal de Retz, ſecluded himſelf in his palace of Luxembourg; when at length mademoiſelle, the daughter of that prince, taking the part of Condé, whom her father dared not aſſiſt, ordered the gates to be opened for the wounded, and had the boldneſs to fire the cannon of the Baſtile upon the king's troops. The royal army retired; but mademoiſelle ruined herſelf for ever with the king her couſin, by this imprudent violence; and cardinal Mazarin, who knew the great deſire ſhe had to eſpouſe a crowned head, obſerved upon this occaſion that, "thoſe "cannon had killed her huſband."

Soon after this action the prince of Condé retired from a capital diſguſted by his violence and haughty demeanor. The parliament declared the duke of Orleans lieutenant general of the kingdom, and ſtill breathed the ſame ſpirit of animoſity towards Mazarin. The court, weary of their inceſſant labours, conſented in appearance to give up that miniſter; he was commanded to retire to Bouillon; and no ſooner was the intelligence of his exile conveyed to Paris, than the citizens of their own accord ſent deputies to invite the king to return to that city; he entered it amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants, and by the ſudden turn of popular favour beheld himſelf firmly ſeated on his throne. The firſt exerciſe of his authority was to baniſh the duke of Orleans to Blois, who there cloſed the remnant of an inglorious life. The cardinal de Retz was alſo arreſted, and conveyed from priſon to priſon; while the prince of Condé, preſſed by the mareſchal Turenne, abandoned in France by almoſt all his partizans, and feebly ſupported by the Spaniards, waged an unſucceſsful war on the frontiers of Champagne. A. D. 1652.

The

A. D. 1653. The calm which the kingdom enjoyed, had been the reſult of the baniſhment of Mazarin. Yet ſcarcely was he expelled by the general voice of the French nation, and by the royal declaration, than he was recalled by the king; and to his infinite ſurpriſe entered Paris once more in full power, and without the leaſt diſturbance. The king received him as a father, and the people as a maſter; but the cardinal, amidſt the ſatisfaction of this change, could not repreſs his contempt of the national levity. The parliament, who had before ſet a price upon his head as a public robber, now ſent deputies to compliment him; and ſoon after paſſed ſentence of death for contumacy on the prince of Condé, whom ſo lately they had honoured as their ally, and even declared general of their forces.

The miniſter applied himſelf with vigour to extinguiſh the ſparks of revolt. In Burgundy Bellegarde was defended for the prince of Condé, by the count of Bouteville, afterwards ſo celebrated as mareſchal Luxemburgh. It was attacked with rival ardour by the duke d'Epernon, at the head of a royal army; yet the governor conſented not to ſurrender till a practicable breach was made, and then obtained honourable conditions. Brouage and Oleron were purchaſed from the count of Oignon; the prince of Conti, and the ducheſs of Longueville capitulated in Bourdeaux; and the garriſon under the command of the count of Marſin was permitted to march out to join the prince of Condé.

A. D. 1654. That prince, in conjunction with the arch duke on the ſide of the Netherlands, laid ſiege to Arras; but mareſchal Turenne, after poſſeſſing himſelf of Stenai, advanced to the relief of the former town, and forced the lines of the beſiegers;

ſiegers; the Spaniards were routed with bloody ſlaughter; but the prince of Condé ſtill maintained the honour of his name amidſt defeat. With two regiments alone he protected the fugitives, and repulſed mareſchal d'Hocquincourt; the king of Spain acknowledged his ſervices in a long and expreſſive letter; "I have heard that all was loſt, and that "you ſaved all."

The power of the miniſter each day increaſed; the prince of Conti ſought his alliance, and obtained the hand of his niece; and the cabals of the parliament were broken by the reſolution of Lewis. England, whom moſt he dreaded, was ruled by Cromwell, under the title of protector; and who, after humbling the pride of Holland, meditated to deſpoil Spain of her tranſmarine poſſeſſions; while in Sweden, the celebrated queen Chriſtina reſigned her throne to her couſin Charles Guſtavus, and ſought in the ſhade of private life, that happineſs which her turbulent and reſtleſs diſpoſition would never permit her to enjoy.

Landreci and Queſnoi were reduced by the mareſchal Turenne, and a road was opened by theſe acquiſitions into the Spaniſh Netherlands. The king in perſon beheld the ſucceſsful ſiege of Saint Guillain; and the Spaniards were compelled by the marquis of Merinville to retire from the walls of Solſonna. Their fleet was defeated before Barcelona, by that of France commanded by the duke of Vendoſme. But even theſe ſucceſſes afforded not that ſatisfaction to Mazarin, as the treaty he ſoon after concluded with the protector of England. A. D. 1655.

That great and proſperous uſurper was equally courted and dreaded by all Europe; yet his political judgment has been impeached by poſterity, when he preferred the alliance of France to that of

of Spain. But Lewis purchaſed the friendſhip of his new ally by a conceſſion the moſt ignominious, which the magnanimity of his maturer years would have diſdained, and which muſt ſolely be imputed to the more ſubtle, but leſs honourable, policy of his Italian miniſter. Charles the Second, and his brother the duke of York, both ſons to the late king of England, who had expired on the ſcaffold, and conſequently the grandſons of Henry the Fourth of France, were compelled, at the imperious voice of Cromwell, to quit that kingdom, and to ſeek an aſylum in the dominions of Spain.

A. D. 1656. But if the honour of France ſuffered ſome diminution in thus withdrawing her protection from the unfortunate, the advantage to her arms was brilliant and important. Mareſchal Turenne, with the mareſchal de la Forte, had inveſted Valenciennes, and experienced the ſame reverſe of fortune as had befallen Condé before Arras. That prince, ſeconded by don John of Auſtria, forced the mareſchal de la Forte's lines, took him priſoner, and relieved Valenciennes. Turenne performed what Condé had done before on a ſimilar defeat; he ſaved the routed army, made head every where againſt the victors, and in leſs than a month afterwards laid ſiege to and carried the town of la Capelle.

A. D. 1657. But the treaty with England aſſured Turenne of a decided ſuperiority; Cromwell engaged to ſend ſix thouſand infantry into Flanders, on condition that the French ſhould attempt the reduction of Mardyke, Gravelines, or Dunkirk, all of which had been recovered by Spain during the late civil commotions, and deliver into his hands which ever place was ſooneſt taken; but while the mareſchal awaited the arrival of this reinforcement, he endeavoured by ſurpriſe to make himſelf

himſelf maſter of Cambrai; he had ſcarce encompaſſed the walls, when the prince of Condé, at the head of two thouſand horſe, penetrated through the army of the beſiegers, and having routed every thing that attempted to ſtop him, threw himſelf into the town. The mareſchal no longer perſiſted in the hopeleſs enterpriſe, but directed his march toward St. Quintin to meet the Engliſh auxiliaries; ſtrengthened by this reinforcement, he ſucceſſively reduced Montmedi and St. Venant, raiſed the ſiege of Ardres, and concluded the campaign with the taking of Mardyke, which, according to the late treaty, was delivered into the hands of Cromwell.

Early in the ſpring the armies reſumed their hoſtile operations, which had been ſuſpended by the inclemency of the winter. The remonſtrances of Cromwell commanded the acquieſcence of Mazarin; and Turenne was ordered to inveſt the town of Dunkirk. The port was already blocked up by an Engliſh ſquadron, and ſix thouſand of the infantry of that nation joined the French camp. The prince of Condé and Don John of Auſtria aſſembled all their forces, and preſented themſelves before the city, to raiſe the ſiege. Turenne quitted his lines to encounter the enemy; and the prince of Condé, who was not allowed the diſpoſition of that day, turned to the Engliſh duke of Glouceſter, who had accompanied him, and aſked him, if he had ever ſeen a battle loſt; the reply was in the negative; "then," ſaid the prince, "you will ſee one now." The event juſtified his diſcernment. The French and Engliſh charged with rival valour; the Spaniards were broken on every ſide; and the prince of Condé, who had diſplayed in the battle the moſt heroic courage, preſerved the ſame undaunted countenance in defeat; the A. D. 1658.

the troops under his immediate command were ſtill formidable, and effected their retreat in tolerable order; but the reſt of the Spaniſh army was chaſed to the gates of Furnes, and above nine thouſand of the veteran ſoldiers of Spain are ſuppoſed to have fallen in the action and purſuit.

Dunkirk, though now deſtitute of the moſt diſtant hope of ſuccour, ſtill rejected the ſummons of Turenne, and ſurrendered not till ten days after the battle; the garriſon marched out with all the honours of war, and Lewis entered in triumph the proſtrate city; but he was ſoon compelled to deliver it up to Lockhart, Cromwell's ambaſſador; and the reluctance of Mazarin was vanquiſhed by the reſolution and menaces of the Protector of England.

This was the laſt and moſt important acquiſition of that great and ſucceſsful uſurper, who, without any eminent qualities of body, or ſhining talents of mind, without fortune or illuſtrious birth, ſubverted one of the moſt ancient and beſt eſtabliſhed monarchies in the world; brought to trial and executed his ſovereign; compelled the royal family to ſeek their ſafety in exile; and reduced to ſubjection three powerful and diſcontented nations. In the laſt moments the illuſions of fanaticiſm, which had been ſo conſpicuous in his infant grandeur, ſtill prevailed; and he rejected the fatal predictions of his phyſicians, while his chaplains buoyed up his hopes with the aſſurances of a longer exiſtence. His dying breath bequeathed his power to his eldeſt ſon, Richard, who immediately aſſumed the title of Protector, and was acknowledged by the court of France.

Mareſchal Turenne, on the ſurrender of Dunkirk, turned his arms againſt Furnes and Dixmude; theſe ſoon yielded to his victorious aſſaults; the Spaniſh

Spaniſh forces, divided in garriſon towns, would probably have been ſwept away by the torrent of his fortune, had not his career been checked by the indiſpoſition of his ſovereign; but no ſooner was the health of Lewis reſtored, than thoſe intrigues which had already agitated the court, vaniſhed into air, and Turenne was permitted to ſwell the long liſt of his conqueſts; Oudenarde and Menin opened their gates after a faint reſiſtance; the mareſchal de la Forte was detached to inveſt Gravelines, and Turenne himſelf covered with his army the operations of the ſiege. The colours of France were ſoon diſplayed from the walls; the prince of Ligne was encountered and routed by the rival of Condé; and Ypres ſubmitted to the victor, and received a French garriſon.

In Italy the current of ſucceſs flowed, though not with equal rapidity, in favour of France. The duke of Mantua, who endeavoured to ſtem the tide as the ally of Spain, was happy in being admitted to a neutrality. Trin, in the Marquiſate of Montferrat, was taken by the marquis of Villa; and Mortare, in the Milaneſe, ſurrendered to the duke of Modena, who ſurvived his conqueſt but a few days.

Ferdinand, the third emperor of Germany, had, during the various events of war, ſunk into the grave; and the ambition of Mazarin aſpired to place the imperial crown on the head of Lewis. The mareſchal Grammont was diſpatched for this purpoſe to the diet; but the cardinal was ſoon convinced of the futility of his chimerical expectations. After an interval of above a year, the electors raiſed to the throne Leopold, the ſon of the late emperor; but the policy of France embraced the opportunity to confirm the treaty of Munſter, and to

attach to her intereſt ſeveral of the independent princes of Germany.

A. D. 1659. The rigour of winter, which had ſuſpended the hoſtile enterpriſes of the crowns of Spain and France, had revived in the breaſts of their reſpective miniſters the deſire of peace. The ſucceſs of Turenne in the Spaniſh Netherlands had alarmed the former; and Mazarin was intent on ſecuring the tranquillity of the people by the marriage of the king. It has been aſſerted, that from the affection of Lewis to the niece of the cardinal, he had at one time raiſed his hopes to a royal alliance; but the haughty ſpirit of the queen-mother ſoon extinguiſhed the vain idea, and the daughter of the king of Spain and the princeſs of Savoy next preſented themſelves to his view; he therefore liſtened with pleaſure to the pacific overtures of Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Philip the Fourth with the ſame abſolute authority as he himſelf ruled Lewis.

A ceſſation of arms was immediately agreed upon; and in the Iſle of Pheaſants, on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro appeared as the repreſentatives of their reſpective ſovereigns. A conſiderable time was conſumed in diſputes about precedency; but the Spaniard maintained his equality, and refuſed to yield to the dignity of the cardinal, or to the ſuperior pretenſions of France; their conferences were at length begun, and after four months, were concluded by the celebrated treaty of Pyrenees. By this treaty Lewis was to receive the hand of the infanta with five hundred thouſand gold crowns; Alſace and Rouſſillon were confirmed to him; but he ſolemnly renounced every ſucceſſion that might accrue to him in right of his ſpouſe; and to Charles the Fourth he reſtored the duchy of Lorrain; to Spain the cities of St. Omer,

Omer, Ypres, Menin, and Oudenarde; and he conſented to pardon the prince of Condé. Philip, on his ſide, extended alſo his clemency to the revolted Catalans; relinquiſhed Verceil to the duke of Savoy; Reggio to the duke of Modena; his whole territories to the duke of Monaco; and to the duke of Newburgh the city of Juliers, which for ſeveral years paſt had been ſequeſtered in the hands of the houſe of Auſtria.

Charles of England had preſented himſelf at the Pyrenees to implore the aſſiſtance of the cardinal and don Lewis de Haro; the former refuſed even to ſee him, and pleaded the alliance of France with the Engliſh commonwealth; but the latter received him with that generous civility peculiar to his nation. Even the offer of Charles to marry the niece of the cardinal was rejected with cold politeneſs. The condition of that monarch to all the world ſeemed deſperate; his friends had been baffled in every attempt for his ſervice; the ſcaffold had often ſtreamed with the blood of his moſt active adherents; their ſpirits were broken by tedious impriſonments; their eſtates were overwhelmed by fines and confiſcations. But amidſt all theſe gloomy proſpects, fortune, by a ſurpriſing revolution, brought that about which the miniſters of France and Spain might have had the honour of undertaking. Richard Cromwell, of a gentle, humane, and generous diſpoſition, was incapable of maintaining his dominion by ſanguinary meaſures; he ſigned his own diſmiſſion; and with a moderate fortune extended his peaceful and quiet life to an extreme old age. The committee of ſafety, who had uſurped the authority that he had abdicated, were hated and deſpiſed; they were reluctantly compelled to reſtore the parliament which they had diſſolved; the nation, wearied by A. D. 1659. 1660.

contending factions, impatiently looked to the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution; their wiſhes were ſeconded by the loyal declarations of general Monk, who, with the government of Scotland, commanded an affectionate and well-diſciplined army. Charles was invited to mount the throne of his anceſtors; he landed at Dover; took poſſeſſion of his kingdon without the effuſion of blood, and entered his capital amidſt the unanimous acclamations of the inhabitants.

A. D. 1660. The duke of Orleans, the uncle of Lewis, had expired at Blois, but little noticed, and not all regretted; his death did not interrupt the preparations for the marriage of the king of France: that monarch advanced to Saint Jean de Luz to receive the hand of his bride; the royal pair returned to Paris, and in their triumphal entry into that city diſplayed a magnificence before unknown; but though on this occaſion the cardinal indulged the national taſte for ſplendour, in every other reſpect he narrowly circumſcribed the expences of the king, and Lewis was often reduced to requeſt the loan of that wealth, with which the coffers of his miniſter overflowed.

A. D. 1661. In the ſilent acquiſition of riches, the cardinal had now reached the period which permitted him no longer to enjoy them. The treaty of Vincennes with the duke of Lorrain, and which, in ſome meaſure towards that prince, ſoftened that of Pyrenees, was the laſt act of his adminiſtration; nine days afterwards he expired; and his concern for his wealth was ſtill apparent in the laſt moments of his life. By a deed of gift he reſigned his riches to the king, and his diſcernment was juſtified by the magnanimity of Lewis, who immediately reſtored the inſtrument. Though perhaps that monarch but little regretted the loſs of a miniſter,

ſter, whoſe yoke ſat heavy on his ſhoulders, yet early taught to diſſemble, he aſſumed the external marks of ſorrow, and even honoured his memory by the compliment of wearing mourning.

The adminiſtration and talents of Mazarin have been compared with thoſe of Richelieu; but thoſe commanding features which diſtinguiſhed the latter, are in vain to be ſought for in the former. Prudent, ſubtle, and avaricious, he rather endeavoured to ſooth than to command; to deceive than to vanquiſh; and the love of glory, either exiſted not in his boſom, or was loſt in his inſatiate thirſt of gold. That immenſe hoard was ſoon afterwards diſſipated by the follies and prodigality of the marquis of Meilleraie, who had eſpouſed his favourite daughter Hortenſia Mancini, and aſſumed the title of duke of Mazarin; while Hortenſia herſelf, baniſhed from the bed and country of her huſband, long ſubſiſted in England on a penſion allowed her by the liberality of Charles the Second.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Lewis assumes the reins of government—Acquires Dunkirk—Claims the succession of Flanders—War with Spain—Peace of Aix la Chapelle—Invasion of Holland—Acquisition of Franche Comté—Victories and death of Turenne—Peace of Nimeguen—War resumed with Spain, and terminated by the truce of Ratisbon—League against France—Revolution in England—War in Flanders, Germany, Spain, and Italy—Peace of Ryswick.

A. D. 1661. ON the death of Mazarin, Lewis the Fourteenth prepared to throw off those shackles which the ascendancy of the minister had imposed, and hereafter to assume not only the ensigns of royalty, but the duties of a king: the officers of state, who little expected that a young prince only in his twenty-third year, would limit the pursuit of his pleasures to sustain the toils of government, impatiently enquired whom they were to apply to? They were equally surprised and disappointed, when Lewis answered, "to me;" their astonishment still increased, when they found him persevere. He had consulted his own strength, and made a trial in secret of his capacity for government; his resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life; he appointed bounds to the power of every minister; obliged him to give an account of every thing at certain hours; restored order to the finances, and established discipline among the troops.

In

In his tranſactions with foreign ſtates, he aſſerted the dignity of his crown with jealous vigilance; the ambaſſador of Spain at the court of London, had on a public entry diſputed the way with that of France; but the firm remonſtrances of Lewis extorted from Philip ample ſatisfaction; and the Spaniſh monarch diſpatched the count of Fuentes with the important conceſſion, "that the miniſters of "Spain ſhould no longer diſpute the precedency "with thoſe of France." With the court of Rome he diſplayed equal firmneſs. His ambaſſador, the duke of Crequi, had been inſulted, and even his carriage fired into by the guards of that city; the king menaced to avenge the affront by arms; and he compelled Alexander the Seventh, the Roman pontiff, to ſatisfy his honour, by erecting a pillar in Rome, expreſſing the injury and reparation.

The ſatisfaction that he derived from A, D. 1661. theſe events was increaſed by the birth of 1667. a ſon; and the ſecurity of his kingdom was augmented by the purchaſe of Dunkirk. Charles the Second, whoſe adverſity had not taught him œconomy, was reduced by his profuſion to part with that important place, and Lewis obtained it at the price of four hundred thouſand pounds. He immediately employed thirty thouſand men to fortify it by land and ſea; and dug a large baſon between the town and the citadel, capable of containing ſeveral men of war. He extorted ſoon after the ſtrong hold of Marſal from the duke of Lorrain. He ſecretly ſupported the crown of Portugal againſt that of Spain; but though the king of England offered to abandon to him all the Spaniſh low countries, provided he would ſuffer him to purſue his advantages over the Dutch, Lewis rejected the propoſal, which would have rendered Charles ſovereign of the ſeas; yet the aſſiſtance he could on that element afford his allies

allies, the Hollanders, was feeble and unworthy of his greatneſs; but his ſuccours by land were more effectual and honourable; and his arms protected them from the martial and enterprifing biſhop of Munſter, whom the gold of England had allured to invade the united provinces.

A. D. 1667. The peace of Breda reconciled the contending powers, but reſtored not for a moment the tranquillity of Europe. The flame of war was kept alive by the pretenſions and ambition of the French monarch. In the ſilent lapſe of ſix years he had repleniſhed his coffers, created a naval force, augmented his armies, and provided large magazines and an immenſe quantity of military ſtores. The two miniſters who principally ſhared his confidence were Colbert and Louvois. The former in the finances, rivalled the fame and abilities of the duke of Sully; the latter firſt diſplayed to Europe the means of ſubſiſting large armies at a diſtance by magazines. The prince of Condé, and the mareſchal Turenne were ſtill in the vigour of their life; and France might juſtly boaſt the proud ſuperiority of her ſtateſmen and her generals.

A. D. 1668. Anne of Auſtria, the queen-mother, who no longer retained her influence over the mind of her ſon, had ſunk unnoticed into the grave; the death of Philip of Spain was an event of more importance; he left a ſon Charles the Second; but the queen of France, the iſſue of a former marriage, laid claim to a conſiderable province of the Spaniſh monarchy, even to the excluſion of her brother. By the cuſtom of ſome parts of Brabant, a female of a firſt marriage, was preferred to a male of the ſecond; and Lewis, in open violation of his ſolemn renunciation in the treaty of Pyrenees, prepared to vindicate the claim of his conſort by arms.

The

The king of France with an army of forty thouſand men, directed by Turenne, paid by Colbert, and amply ſupplied by Louvois, burſt into the defenceleſs provinces of Flanders. The towns without magazines, without fortifications, and without garriſons, ſurrendered to Lewis as ſoon as he preſented himſelf before them. The banners of France were in an inſtant diſplayed from the walls of Athe, Tournay, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Charleroy, and Binche; Liſle alone maintained a reſiſtance of nine days, and the king returned to Paris from a campaign, attended by the moſt important acquiſitions, but which in its progreſs rather reſembled a party of pleaſure than a hoſtile expedition.

The reputation which Turenne had acquired in this enterpriſe, awakened the honourable jealouſy of the prince of Condé. The inclemency of the ſeaſon could not chill his martial ardour, and in the midſt of winter he propoſed to his ſovereign the invaſion of Franche Comté. That province, ſituated on the borders of Switzerland, under the protection of the houſe of Auſtria, enjoyed its ancient privileges, and the honourable diſtinction of a parliament; the inhabitants contented, though poor, were awakened from their humble tranquillity by the diſcordant trumpet of war. Beſançon, and Salins, the two ſtrongeſt towns, were inveſted and reduced by the prince of Condé; Lewis haſtened to join his army, and laid ſiege to Dole; in four days that city was compelled to open its gates; and in three weeks the conqueſt of the entire province was completely atchieved. A. D. 1669.

But the rapid ſucceſs of Lewis had awakened the envy and the fears of his powerful neighbours. A triple league was formed by England, Holland, and Sweden, to preſcribe bounds to his ambition. The arbitration of ſo formidable a confederacy could not

not be rejected. A negociation was immediately commenced, and rapidly concluded. By the peace of Aix la Chapelle, Lewis retained his acquiſitions in Flanders, but reſtored Franche Comté to Spain; though even by theſe conditions he gained an extenſive territory, fruitful and populous, yet he ever after harboured a deep and implacable reſentment againſt the ſtates of Holland, whoſe deputies had diſplayed the proud and inflexible ſpirit of republicans.

A. D. 1670. At the moment that monarch ſigned the treaty of peace, he meditated new wars, and prepared to ſatiate his revenge; his firſt attention was directed to create a naval force; and his orders were executed by the indefatigable induſtry of Colbert and Louvois. The ſea-ports, which had almoſt ſunk into ruins, again erected their heads, were fortified with works which at once ſerved for their ornament and defence, and were filled with ſixty large men of war ready equipped for ſea. The next object of his councils was to detach the king of England from his alliance with Holland. His brother the duke of Orleans had married the ſiſter of Charles, and the influence of that princeſs was exerted over the mind of the Engliſh monarch; the neceſſities of Charles ſeconded her arts; the ſums that his profuſion demanded, and his parliament denied, were ſupplied by Lewis; and the king of England was prevailed upon to relinquiſh the moſt ſettled maxims of honour and policy, and to ſign engagements for the deſtruction of Holland, with whom he had ſo lately united himſelf to repreſs the ambition of France.

A. D. 1670. 1671. The ſudden death of the ducheſs of Orleans, who had negociated this alliance, and whoſe fate was accompanied with ſuſpicions of poiſon, threw a gloom over the courts, but did

did not impede the preparations of the confederate monarchs. The liberality of Lewis extended itſelf to Sweden, and Charles the Eleventh ſubſcribed the new league; while the biſhop of Munſter, greedy of war and plunder, and naturally an enemy of the Dutch, readily concurred in the meaſures concerted for their deſtruction.

But if the alliances and armaments of Charles and Lewis were formidable, the pretences they aſſigned for their hoſtile deſigns were frivolous and contemptible. The former complained that the cuſtomary honours had been refuſed to the Engliſh flag, and that pictures injurious to the reputation of the Engliſh had been encouraged; the latter maintained greater dignity, if undiſguiſed violence and injuſtice can merit that appellation; he pretended that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been ſuch that it did not conſiſt with his glory any longer to bear. A. D. 1672.

At the moment that the United Provinces were menaced by ſuch powerful enemies, they could derive but little ſatisfaction from the review of their domeſtic ſituation. Two factions at that time agitated the republic. The one headed by John de Wit, grand penſionary, a man equally eminent for greatneſs of mind, for capacity, and for integrity, but who regarded with jealouſy the leaſt ſhadow of abſolute authority; the other leſs attached to the exterior of liberty, deſirous of reſtoring the ſtadtholderſhip, and of inveſting the prince of Orange with the poſts and dignities of his anceſtors.

Into this country burſt Lewis the Fourteenth, at the head of an army formidable from its numbers and diſcipline, but ſtill more ſo from the ſkill and experience of Turenne, Condé, Luxembourgh, and Vauban. De Wit had expected his attack on the ſide of Maeſtricht, and provided that town accordingly;

cordingly; but the king of France taking advantage of his alliance with Cologne, invaded the provinces from that quarter. He paſſed the Meuſe at Viſat, poſſeſſed himſelf of Orſoi, reduced in four days Burik, Weſel, Emerik, and Rhimberg; and preſſed forwards to the Rhine. To all the other calamities of the Dutch, was added the extreme drought of the ſeaſon, which diminiſhed the greateſt rivers; the French cavalry, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, plunged into the ſtream; a few Dutch regiments on the oppoſite bank made but a feeble reſiſtance, and the celebrated paſſage of the Rhine, the ſubject of ſo much panegyric, was atchieved without danger, and almoſt without oppoſition.

Each ſucceſs added courage to the conquerors, and ſtruck the vanquiſhed with diſmay; and every hour brought intelligence of ſome freſh acquiſition. A liſt of defenceleſs cities that opened their gates on the appearance of an enemy, can afford neither inſtruction nor entertainment to the reader. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that in little more than a month three provinces, Guelderland, Overyſſel, and Utrecht, were in the hands of Lewis; Groningen was threatened; Friezeland lay expoſed; and the only difficulty that preſented itſelf was in Holland and Zealand. Condé and Turenne exhorted the king to diſmantle all the towns that he had taken, except a few, and preſs on to new conqueſts; but Lewis liſtened to the counſels of Louvois, who prevailed on him to ſtrengthen his acquiſitions with new fortifications; a project which, by weakening the main army, proved fatal to his ambitious deſigns.

But at ſea the Dutch maintained their former renown, and engaged with alacrity the combined fleets of two powerful nations. De Ruyter, their admiral, on this occaſion acquired immortal honour, and acknowledged,

acknowledged, that of two and thirty actions which he had beheld, this combat was the moſt obſtinately diſputed. The loſs ſuſtained by the two fleets was nearly equal; the approach of night at length ſuſpended the fury of the combatants; and both retired to their reſpective harbours to repair the damages which they had ſuffered.

But the glory of de Ruyter could not inſpire his countrymen to emulate his conduct by land; the ſtates determined to implore the pity of the combined monarchs; but the conditions that Lewis preſcribed were little better than articles of ſlavery. All the towns on the other ſide of the Rhine were to be ceded, with Nimeguen, and ſeveral in the heart of the provinces; the roman catholic religion was every where to be re-eſtabliſhed; and a medal was annually to be preſented to the French court, importing that the Hollanders retained their freedom by the moderation of Lewis.

The indignation of the people at terms ſo fatal and diſgraceful, broke out in open and violent ſeditions. Inſtead of arming to meet the haughty conqueror, they diſcharged their rage on their own unhappy miniſter. The unfortunate De Wit, and his brother Cornelius, were torn to pieces by the frenzy of the populace; the moſt ſhocking indignities were exerciſed on their diſmembered limbs; and the united voice of the people inveſted with the ſole adminiſtration William prince of Orange.

That prince, though only in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, gave ſtrong indications of all thoſe great qualities by which his life was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. The whole tenor of his demeanor ſuited extremely the genius of the people whoſe councils he was called to direct. Silent and thoughtful, he poſſeſſed a ſound and ſteady underſtanding; was firm in his reſolutions, and indefatigable in buſineſs;

never

never ſuffered pleaſure to allure, or danger to intimidate him. His appointment once more animated the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen; they reſolved, if unable to maintain their freedom in Europe, to fly to their ſettlements in the Indies, and erect a new republic in thoſe remote regions. While, to check the preſent progreſs of the victor, they called to their aſſiſtance that deſtructive element, againſt which they had formerly ſo diligently fortified themſelves; and opening the ſluices, laid the adjacent country under water.

Lewis had made his triumphal entry into Utrecht, but he now quitted a campaign in which the difficulties of war were increaſed, and the hopes of conqueſt were diminiſhed. He returned to his capital to enjoy the acclamations of his ſubjects for ſucceſſes which he owed to the merit of his generals, or to the panic of his enemies. But already a confederacy was formed to ſet bounds to his aſpiring ambition. Spain privately aſſiſted, and the emperor openly ſupported, the United Provinces; Luxemburgh was diſappointed in an attempt on the Hague, and the biſhop of Munſter was repulſed from the walls of Groningen.

A. D. 1673. The enſuing year extended more widely the flames of war. The emperor and Spain openly declared themſelves the allies of the Dutch; and the houſe of Auſtria was now engaged to protect thoſe provinces which during ſo many years ſhe had endeavoured to oppreſs. De Ruyter ſtill maintained his reputation at ſea, and encountered in a ſecond and indeciſive action the combined fleets of France and England. A third that ſoon after enſued, though equally obſtinate and bloody, ſtill left the victory doubtful. But Lewis at the head of a numerous army inveſted, and in a week reduced Maeſtricht. The prince of Orange in return

turn laid ſiege to Naerden; and the ſucceſs of that enterpriſe confirmed the confidence of his countrymen; he immediately after directed his march to join Montecuculli, the imperial general, who on the banks of the Rhine was oppoſed to Turenne; the artful conduct of that commander eluded the penetration of the mareſchal, and he ſuddenly ſat down before Bonne. Under the walls of that city he was joined by the prince of Orange, who with ſimilar addreſs had deceived and eſcaped the vigilance of the French generals. Bonne ſoon ſurrendered to their combined arms; ſeveral other places in the electorate of Cologne fell into their hands; the communication between France and the United Provinces was cut off; and Lewis was obliged to recal his forces, and abandon all his conqueſts with greater rapidity than he had at firſt made them.

The firm remonſtrances of the Engliſh parliament, and the clamours of his people, compelled Charles to conclude a peace with the United Provinces. But while he reluctantly deſerted his ally Lewis, he ſtill inſiſted that ten thouſand men whom he had detached to reinforce the army of that monarch ſhould not be recalled, though he conſented to bind himſelf by a ſecret article of the treaty never to recruit them. Even this reinforcement, ſmall as it might ſeem, was neceſſary to the various enterpriſes of the French king. The empire, Spain, and Holland, were now firmly united againſt him. The biſhop of Munſter and the elector of Cologne had been compelled to renounce his alliance; yet he continued to make head every where againſt his enemies, and even meditated new conqueſts. With a powerful army in perſon he again invaded Franche Comté; laid ſiege to and again carried Beſançon; and in ſix weeks reduced A. D. 1674.

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the whole province, which has ever ſince remained annexed to the dominions of France.

In Flanders the allied army was commanded by the prince of Orange, and the French by the prince of Condé. The former, encouraged by his ſuperior numbers, endeavoured to penetrate into France; but in the attempt he raſhly expoſed at Seneffe a wing of his army, and his active adverſary failed not to ſeize and improve the advantage. But the prince of Orange amply compenſated for his error by his behaviour in the obſtinate and bloody action that enſued; he rallied his diſmayed troops, led them to the charge, and puſhed the martial veterans of France. The conflict was continued for ſome time after ſunſet, till darkneſs parted the combatants, and left the victory undecided. But the conduct of William was ſtamped by the applauſe of his generous antagoniſt; "the prince of Orange," ſaid Condé, "has acted in every thing like an old cap-"tain, except venturing his life too like a young "ſoldier."

In Alſace, Turenne diſplayed againſt a much ſuperior enemy, all that military ſkill which by long experience, profound reflection, and great genius, he had been able to acquire. By a ſudden and forced march he attacked and defeated at Sintzheim the duke of Lorrain and Caprara, the general of the imperialiſts, and afterwards extended his bloody devaſtations over the palatinate. Seventy thouſand Germans deluged Alſace; they were ſurpriſed by the unexpected appearance of Turenne; a conſiderable detachment was cut in pieces at Mulhauſen; the elector of Brandenburg, who had been entruſted with the chief command, was routed by the active vigilance of the mareſchal near Colmar; a third body ſuffered the ſame fate at Turkheim; and this formidable hoſt, baffled and diſperſed,

was

was happy to evacuate Alſace and repaſs the Rhine.

To oppoſe Turenne, the imperialiſts recalled their celebrated general Montecuculli. The object of the latter was to penetrate into Alſace, Lorrain. or Burgundy; the aim of the former was to guard the French frontiers, and diſappoint all the ſchemes of his enemy. The banks of the Rhine was the theatre on which their ſkill was diſplayed. Each encountered the other with perſeverance, penetration, and activity; but on the moment that they were on the point of ſtaking their reputation on the fate of a battle near the village of Saltzbach, Turenne was killed by a cannon ball as he was reconnoitring a ſituation to erect a battery. The news of his fate impreſſed the king, the court, and the people, with the deepeſt ſorrow; but it was in the camp that his loſs was moſt ſeverely felt and ſenſibly regretted. Montecuculli, who had for three months been kept on the other ſide of the Rhine by the abilities of the mareſchal, paſſed that river the moment he heard Turenne was no more; he penetrated into Alſace; and the French, who had lately aſpired to victory, eſteemed themſelves happy in eſcaping defeat, and effecting a retreat under the conduct of de Lorges, nephew to the deceaſed general. A. D. 1675.

Part of the German army, after the death of Turenne, had formed the ſiege of Treves, and mareſchal Crequi, with the troops that he could aſſemble, advanced to the relief of that place. His negligence expoſed him to a total and bloody defeat; with four attendants only he eſcaped into Treves, and endeavoured by a vigorous defence to efface his diſgrace; but the garriſon at length mutinied againſt his authority; they opened the gates to the enemy; and ſince he refuſed to ſign the capitulation they had made,

they delivered him up a priſoner to the imperialiſts.

Lewis in perſon had taken the field in Flanders, and was oppoſed by the prince of Orange with an equal army; each party was unwilling to hazard a general engagement without ſome viſible advantage. The monarch ſoon after returned to Verſailles, and the late diſaſters in Germany induced him to recal the prince of Condé to make head againſt Montecuculli. The prince on this new field confirmed the opinion of his ſuperior genius. He compelled the Germans to raiſe the ſieges of Hagenau and Severne; he eluded their attempts to force him to a battle; and at length conſtrained them to repaſs the Rhine. With this campaign he cloſed the long ſeries of his martial toils and glory; the remnant of his life he paſſed in honourable retirement at Chantilly; while Montecuculli, full of years and fame, withdrew at the ſame time from the ſcene of action, unwilling to expoſe that reputation in conteſts with younger adverſaries, which he had acquired as the rival of Condé and Turenne.

A. D. 1676. Though the death of Turenne, and the retreat of Condé, deprived Lewis of two commanders, whoſe military talents have ſeldom been equalled, and never excelled, yet the vigour and diſcipline that they had infuſed into the armies, ſtill continued to open the road to victory. The Hollanders themſelves ſoon after ſuſtained a loſs which plunged them in the ſame honourable ſorrow as France had lately felt. Meſſina had revolted, and a fleet under the duke de Vivonne was diſpatched to ſupport the rebels; the Dutch ſent a ſquadron to aſſiſt the Spaniards; an engagement enſued; and de Ruyter, the Turenne of Holland, received a wound which put an end to his glorious life; the Dutch diſmayed at his death, retired in confuſion; yet the

advantage the French obtained was but tranſient; and they were ſoon after reduced to evacuate Meſſina, at the moment that they flattered themſelves with the hope of becoming maſters of it.

In Germany, Charles the Fifth, the new duke of Lorrain, who ſucceeded his uncle Charles the Fourth, and who like him was ſtripped of his dominions, had recovered Philipſburgh; but he vainly endeavoured to penetrate into his own territories; Mareſchal Crequi ranſomed from confinement, and grown more prudent by his defeat, defended the entrance into Lorrain, and in repeated actions baffled and defeated the unfortunate duke.

In Flanders Lewis himſelf early took the field, and provided with ample magazines, began his operations, while the enemy's cavalry were unable to find forage in the open country. The Spaniſh towns ill fortified, made but a feeble reſiſtance; in the month of April he laid ſiege to Condé, and took it by ſtorm in four days; while the duke of Orleans inveſted Bouchain, he poſted himſelf to ſuch advantage as to hinder the confederates from relieving it, or fighting but under great difficulties; the prince of Orange, after ſurmounting a variety of obſtacles, came indeed in ſight of the French army, but his induſtry ſerved only to render him a ſpectator of the ſurrender of Bouchain; both armies ſtood in awe of each other, and were unwilling to hazard an action which might be attended with the moſt important conſequences. Satisfied with his new acquiſitions, and the glory he had gained, Lewis retired to Verſailles, and entruſted his army to the command of mareſchal Schomberg; on his departure William inveſted Maeſtricht; but Schomberg, who had taken Aire, immediately advanced to the relief of that place, and the prince was compelled reluctantly to retire.

During the various operations of the hoſtile armies, the language of peace had been reſumed, and a congreſs had been eſtabliſhed at Nimeguen under the mediation of the king of England; the Dutch loaded with debts, and harraſſed with taxes, were deſirous of putting an end to the war. But gratitude to their allies, the emperor and the king of Spain, induced them to try the conſequences of another campaign; and the prince of Orange urged by motives of honour, of ambition, and of animoſity againſt France, endeavoured to keep them ſteady to this reſolution.

A. D. 1677. Lewis was alſo ſincerely deſirous of peace; his kingdom was exhauſted by the violent efforts that ſhe had made; but the monarch was conſcious that a good treaty could only be attained by a vigorous war. In February he laid ſiege to Valenciennes, and carried it by ſtorm; he next inveſted Cambray and St. Omer. The prince of Orange advanced to the relief of the latter place, and was encountered by the French, commanded by the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, and mareſchal Luxemburg. The former concealed beneath the effeminate manners of a woman, a courage the moſt ardent, and the latter had been the conſtant friend and pupil of the great Condé. By a maſterly movement of that general, William was defeated, and compelled to ſeek ſhelter under the walls of Ypres; but Lewis, jealous of his brother's fame, who had fought glory in the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, liſtened to the victory with ſmall ſigns of external ſatisfaction, and never afterwards entruſted the duke with the chief command. Cambray and Saint Omer ſoon ſurrendered, and cloſed the operations of the campaign.

A. D. 1678. Negociations for peace were ſtill continued, and Charles of England having beſtowed

beſtowed the hand of his neice on the prince of Orange, ſeemed ſincerely deſirous of acquieſcing in the wiſhes of his people, and of protecting the provinces. The king of France had taken the field with his uſual readineſs, and had reduced Ypres and Ghent, and the army under Luxemburg had inveſted Mons, when Van Beverning, the Dutch Ambaſſador, alarmed, at his progreſs, and conſcious of the unſteady councils of England, at Nimeguen ſigned the treaty of peace with the miniſters of France; by this treaty Lewis ſecured the poſſeſſion of Franche Comté, together with Cambray, Aire, Saint Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Caſſel, &c. and agreed to reſtore to Spain only Charleroi, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Athe, Ghent, and Leonbourgh; while in the north, his ally the king of Sweden was reinſtated in thoſe dominions of which he had been ſtripped by the joint forces of Denmark and Germany.

The king of Spain and the emperor reluctantly and ſucceſſively ſubſcribed to theſe hard conditions; which were conſidered by the prince of Orange with equal diſguſt. The day after they were ſigned he attacked, near Mons, and gained ſome advantage over Luxemburg, who reſted ſecure on the faith of the treaty, and concluded the war finiſhed; William had alſo reaſon to believe the peace was ſigned, though not formally notified; and he wantonly ſacrificed the lives of many brave men on both ſides, who fell in this ſharp and well conteſted action.

The tempeſt of war which had ſo long agitated Europe, was ſucceeded by four years of peace. Lewis, whoſe reſtleſs ambition was ever awake, diligently employed each moment in preparations for future conqueſts; even the treaty that he had ſo lately ſigned at Nimeguen could not ſuſpend his inſatiate thirſt for dominion; by treachery A. D. 1679. 1683.

chery he poſſeſſed himſelf of the imperial city of Straſburgh; he purchaſed Caſal of the duke of Mantua; and diſpoſſeſſed the elector Palatine and the elector of Treves of the lordſhips of Falkemberg, Germaſheim, and Valdentz. Ports and harbours were conſtructed at Breſt and Toulon; the docks were filled with ſhips of war, the army was augmented, and the magazines repleniſhed; while the people enriched by arts and commerce willingly ſubmitted to new impoſts, and cheerfully acquieſced under their burthens.

A. D. 1684. The death of the queen was an event
1687. but little regarded by Lewis, who already felt that paſſion for madame de Maintenon, which accompanied him through the reſt of his life; he was doubtleſs impreſſed with more real concern at the loſs of Colbert, whoſe ſkill and integrity as a financier had greatly contributed to his conqueſts; that miniſter ſunk into the grave when the ambition of the king had juſt rekindled the flame of war; on pretences the moſt frivolous, Lewis had demanded Aloſt of the Spaniards; and on their refuſal had ſeized on Luxemburg; the indignation of Spain had impelled her to an open declaration of war againſt her haughty enemy; but her own weakneſs, and the ſituation of the other powers of Europe, compelled her to ſign at Ratiſbon a truce for twenty years, which left Lewis in the peaceable poſſeſſion of Luxemburg.

With equal injuſtice that monarch had bombarded Genoa, and reduced the republic to ſue for peace in the moſt abject manner, for having ſtipulated to build ſome gallies for the Spaniards; but greater glory accompanied the expeditions againſt Algiers; and thoſe licentious rovers, after beholding the greateſt part of their city reduced to aſhes, ſubmitted to releaſe ſeveral hundreds of chriſtian captives

captives. Yet vanity or intereſt were the ſole motives that actuated the ſovereign of France; and while he braved the ſpiritual cenſures of the Roman pontiff, and ſtripped that ſee of Avignon, he revoked the edicts of Nantz, revived the perſecution againſt the proteſtants, and drove by his miſtaken policy into exile above five hundred thouſand of the moſt uſeful and induſtrious inhabitans of France.

Lewis diſcovered too late that the characters of a conqueror and perſecutor are incompatible; beſides weakening his own kingdom by the baniſhment of myriads, the melancholy fate of the refugees had inflamed againſt him all the proteſtant nations of Europe. The prince of Orange, who well knew how to avail himſelf of the general indignation, had by his intrigues and influence formed a league at Augſburg, where the whole empire united in its defence againſt the French monarch; Spain and Holland became parties in the ſame alliance; the acceſſion of Savoy was afterwards obtained; and Sweden and Denmark ſeemed to favour the ſame cauſe.

The knowledge of this league had not A. D. 1688.
eſcaped the vigilance of the king of France; and to anticipate the deſigns of the confederates, he had invaded the empire, and laid ſiege to Philipſburg; but his attention was engroſſed by the affairs of England, which every day more plainly pointed to a new revolution. Charles the Second had expired at variance with his parliament, and deſpiſed by his people. His brother the duke of York, as James the Second, ſucceeded to the throne; the misfortunes of his father ſerved not to reſtrain the raſh zeal and blind obedience of that prince for the church of Rome. He openly violated the laws of his country, he endeavoured to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion, and compelled his ſubjects to ſeek

their

their ſafety in revolt, and to call to their protection the prince of Orange.

William who had married the daughter of that monarch whom he was ſummoned to oppoſe, liſtened with pleaſure to ſolicitations which were at once enforced by policy and religion; he diligently collected a formidable fleet, levied additional troops, and raiſed conſiderable ſums of money; but Lewis's envoy at the Hague penetrated into the real object of his preparations, and informed his maſter of his diſcovery. The king of France immediately conveyed the intelligence to James; at the ſame time he offered to reinforce the Engliſh fleet with a French ſquadron, to ſend over any number of troops, or to march into the Netherlands and engage the Dutch in the defence of their own country; but theſe propoſals were rejected by the king of England, who dreaded to increaſe the diſaffection of his ſubjects by ſo unpopular an alliance.

At length the prince of Orange ſet ſail and after encountering a violent tempeſt at ſea, landed at Torbay on the coaſt of Devonſhire; he was joined by the principal nobility of the iſland, and the integrity of his enterpriſe was fortified by the appearance of the princeſs Anne, the other daughter of James; that unfortunate prince deſerted by his ſubjects, his favourites, and his children, yielded to the torrent, abdicated the throne, and ſought ſhelter with his infant ſon and queen in France; Lewis received the royal fugitives with every mark of reſpect and aſſurance of ſupport; while the gratitude of the Engliſh placed their crown on the head of the prince of Orange; and that monarch, as William the Third, prepared to aſſert his own dignity, and to vindicate the liberties of Europe.

A. D. 1688. 1689. England and Holland, the two great maritime powers of Europe, the empire and

and Spain, with the greateſt part of Italy, were now united againſt France; but her monarch ſtill confided in his former fortune, and his enemies acknowledged his preparations were worthy of the important conteſt. Philipſburg was taken; Manheim, Frankendal, Spires, Worms, and Oppenheim, ſurrendered; and the fruitful country of the palatinate was, at the unrelenting voice of Lewis, conſigned to deſtruction; her towns were reduced to aſhes, her fertile fields became a deſart, and the wretched people, driven from their habitations by the fury of the flames and the brutality of the ſoldiers, were left to periſh by famine and the inclemency of the ſeaſon; ſuch were the means by which the king of France endeavoured to intimidate his enemies and protect his frontier; yet the former were rather exaſperated than vanquiſhed; and the imperial armies, under the duke of Lorrain, reſumed their courage, and covered the important cities of Bonn and Mentz.

But the grand object of Lewis was to A. D. 1689. reſtore to his dominions the fugitive 1690. James; that unhappy prince had ſtill a ſtrong party in Ireland; and the friendſhip of France liberally furniſhed him with arms and ammunition of every kind; a conſiderable fleet was fitted out to ſecond his efforts, and in its courſe encountered the ſquadrons of England and Holland in an indeciſive engagement; he was rceived into Limeric, and his firſt ſucceſs exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations; but his career was checked by the ſkill of the duke of Schomberg; and on the banks of the Boyne he was vanquiſhed by the ſuperior fortune and genius of William. James himſelf abandoned the day with a precipitation unworthy of the crown he aſpired to, and haſtily returned to France; while his ſucceſsful rival, by his valour and conduct, extorted the applauſe of

of his enemies, and eſtabliſhed his tottering throne; a deſultory war was maintained for ſome time after the flight of James, till Ireland gradually withdrew from the ſupport of a prince who had deſerted her, and ſubmitted to the authority of William.

In Flanders the mareſchal d'Humieres was defeated by the prince of Waldeck, and Lewis, to retrieve this diſaſter, again entruſted his forces in the Netherlands to the mareſchal duke of Luxemburgh. In the plains of Fleurus, near Charleroi, that general avenged the injured glory of his country; the prince of Waldeck was defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand killed and eight thouſand taken priſoners; yet the victor acknowledged the gallantry of the vanquiſhed; "Prince Waldeck," ſaid he, "ought al-"ways to remember the French cavalry; and I "ſhall never forget the Dutch infantry."

A. D. 1691. In the enſuing campaign Lewis himſelf was preſent at the ſiege of Mons; and retired, after the ſurrender of that city, to Verſailles; while William, who had haſtened from Ireland to oppoſe mareſchal Luxemburgh, concluded the campaign finiſhed, and repaired to the Hague; the mareſchal embraced the moment of his abſence, and by a forced march ſurpriſed and routed the rear of the confederates commanded by the prince of Waldeck.

On the frontiers of Germany, and in Spain, a feeble and deſultory war was carried on with various ſucceſs; but in Piedmont, Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, a prince brave, penetrating, and active, was oppoſed by the mareſchal Catinat, who had relinquiſhed the early ſtudy of the law for the more glorious profeſſion of arms; and who amidſt camps cultivated the maxims of philoſophy. At Saluces he triumphed over the duke of Savoy in a bloody and obſtinate encounter; and the conqueror

ſoon

ſoon reduced to the authority of Lewis the greateſt part of Savoy and Piedmont.

In two engagements the fleet of France had at leaſt maintained an equality with A. D. 1692. thoſe of England and Holland; and Lewis, ſtill anxious to reſtore the ſhattered fortunes of James, determined to hazard a general action, and, if victorious, to invade England. The hoſtile fleets met in the channel near Cape la Hogue, and Tourville, the French Admiral, obeyed the orders of his ſovereign; but the ſuperior numbers of the confederates ſoon decided the fate of the day. The French admiral's own ſhip, with twenty more of the largeſt veſſels of his fleet, were deſtroyed by the fire of the victors; and James, with a ſigh of deſpair, beheld, from a neighbouring eminence, the gloomy flame which for ever blaſted the fond expectations he had nouriſhed.

But on land Lewis ſtill maintained his A. D. 1692. ſuperiority; Namur, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs of the Netherlands, was reduced even in the ſight of William; and though the activity and vigilance of that monarch ſurpriſed the French camp at Steenkirk, yet the battle was reſtored by the abilities of Luxemburgh, and the kindred valour of the princes of the blood; and the king of England, after the moſt daring efforts, was indignantly compelled to give the ſignal of retreat. The next year he ſtill experienced a more deciſive defeat; at Landen the army of the confederates was broken with the loſs of eight thouſand men; Huy and Charleroy were the prey of the victors; while Lewis repaired by his induſtry his late diſaſters at ſea, and once more diſputed the ſovereignty of that element.

Huy was recovered in the enſuing cam- A. D. 1694. paign by William; and Luxemburgh, 1695.

who

who had ſo often triumphed over that monarch, ſoon after found from diſeaſe that death which he had in vain courted in fields of battle; the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Catinat, penetrated into Dauphiné, and retaliated the miſeries of the Palatinate. While France appeared the object of envy to neighbouring ſtates, her diſtreſs each day increaſed with the number of her victories; her provinces were depopulated to recruit her fleets and armies; the ravages of war were attended by thoſe of famine; and amidſt his glories the monarch was heard frequently to ſigh for peace. The king of England, animated by the death of Luxemburgh, had inveſted Namur; and though that city was obſtinately defended by the mareſchal Boufflers, it was obliged to capitulate in the ſight of the French army commanded by Villeroi, who could only gratify his reſentment by the unprofitable bombardment of Bruſſels.

A. D. 1696. To diminiſh the numbers of his enemies, the king of France opened a negociation with the duke of Savoy; and Amadeus was eaſily induced to prefer his intereſt to the faith he had pledged to his allies. He received again his dominions with four millions of livres to repair the damages they had ſuſtained; Lewis at the ſame time engaged to him his conſtant protection, and promiſed his ſecond ſon, the duke of Burgundy, to the princeſs of Savoy. Though this treaty ſecured France on the ſide of Italy, yet her coaſts were continually alarmed and afflicted by the deſcents of the Engliſh, and Lewis beheld with concern that people again reſume their naval ſuperiority.

A. D. 1697. In Flanders the mareſchal Catinat reduced Athe; in Spain the duke of Vendome, grandſon to Henry the Fourth, gained a glorious victory; he inveſted Barcelona, and the prince of

of Heſſe Darmſtadt, who defended that city with a garriſon of ten thouſand men, was, after a gallant reſiſtance, compelled to capitulate; in America, Pointis, with a French ſquadron, ſurpriſed Carthagena; and the loſs ſuſtained by Spain in the plunder of that place was eſtimated at thirty millions of livres; on the other hand Lewis in vain attempted to fix the crown of Poland on the head of the prince of Conti, who was conſtrained to abandon the field to his ſucceſsful competitor Auguſtus Elector of Saxony.

Each party at length ſincerely inclined to peace; the empire and Spain were weary of a war which had been attended only with misfortunes; the parliament of England had long murmured at the heavy and increaſing expence; and Holland, though more devoted to the inclinations of William, regretted her trade intercepted, and her moſt fruitful provinces laid waſte. Lewis himſelf could not be entirely indifferent to the tears and miſeries of his ſubjects; the rigour of the ſeaſon had combined with the rage of the enemy, and the kingdom, lately ſo fertile, preſented to the eye a dreary and barren proſpect. Under theſe circumſtances, the mediation of Charles the Eleventh, king of Sweden, was accepted; and the caſtle of Ryſwick, near the Hague, was fixed upon as the ſcene of negociation.

The king of France reſtored to the Spaniards all thoſe places that he had taken from them, and the conqueſts that he had made in Flanders during the laſt war, as Luxemburgh, Mons, Athe, and Courtrai. He acknowledged William the Third as lawful king of England, whom he had hitherto treated as an uſurper. To the empire he relinquiſhed Fribourg, Briſac, Kheil, and Philipſbourg; and even ſubmitted to deſtroy the fortifications of Straſburg

on

on the Rhine; Fort Lewis, and Traerbach, works on which the great Vauban had exhauſted his art, and the king his treaſure, Lorrain, Treves, and the Palatinate, were reſigned to their reſpective princes; and France, after a long and bloody war, in which her victories can only be numbered by her campaigns, conſented to a peace, which could ſcarce have been expected from her, if humbled by repeated defeats.

The miniſters who had ſigned the treaty, on their return to the capital were purſued with reproach and ridicule; they were execrated as traitors to their country by the unthinking multitude, who had lately clamoured againſt the proſecution of the war; the policy and judgment of Lewis were generally arraigned; but that monarch, in the late negociation, harboured a deſign beyond the views of the vulgar; the health of Charles the Second of Spain daily declined; and the king of France revolved in ſecret his pretenſions to that ſucceſſion, which by the treaty of the Pyrenees he had ſolemnly renounced.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Death of Charles the ſecond king of Spain—War for the ſucceſſion—Battles of Hochſtet or Blenheim—of Ramillies and Turin—Diſtreſs of France—Lewis in vain ſues for peace—Battle of Malplaquet—Victories of the duke of Vendome in Spain—Peace of Utrecht between France, and the confederate powers of Great Britain, Holland, Pruſſia, Portugal, and Savoy—Philip acknowledged king of Spain—Succeſs of Villars in Germany—Peace with the Emperor—Domeſtic misfortunes of Lewis—His death and character.

THE dawning luſtre of Lewis had been obſcured by the power and aſcendancy of his imperious miniſter; on the death of Mazarin, he emerged from that abject ſtate of vaſſalage, and awed and aſtoniſhed Europe by the blaze of his meridian glory; but a dark cloud hung over his ſetting ſun; and he ſurvived to behold, in the evening of life, the deſertion of his allies and the triumph of his enemies; his cities raſed, his people ſlaughtered, and his children prematurely buried in the grave.

The peace of Ryſwick was ſucceeded by new negociations; the pretenſions of A. D. 1689. the king of France to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion was not veiled from the penetrating eye of William the Third; Lewis, ſenſible that the emperor urged the ſame claims of conſanguinity, though priority of birth fortified the title of the houſe of Bourbon, and conſcious from late experience that his own ſtrength

ſtrength was not able to contend with the united powers of Europe, opened by his miniſter a new project to the king of England. William entered into it with alacrity; and the celebrated treaty of partition was concluded, which divided the dominions of Spain during the life of her ſovereign. To the young prince of Bavaria were aſſigned Spain and the Eaſt-Indies; to the dauphin, ſon of Lewis the Fourteenth, Naples, Sicily, and the province of Guipuſcoa; and to the archduke Charles, the ſecond ſon of the emperor Leopold, only the duchy of Milan.

A. D. 1699. 1700. Even the feeble and languid ſoul of Charles was arouſed by this daring inſult; he heard with indignation in what manner his monarchy had been diſtributed; and to preſerve it entire he ſigned his will, and bequeathed the whole of his ample dominions to the prince of Bavaria; the ſudden death of that prince not only diſconcerted the deſigns of Charles, but even thoſe of Lewis and William; the two latter monarchs ſigned, however, a new treaty of partition, by which Spain and the Eaſt Indies were transferred to the archduke Charles, and Milan to the duke of Lorrain. To this treaty the emperor Leopold, who flattered himſelf with the hope of the whole ſucceſſion, refuſed to accede.

A. D. 1700. But it was only the dread of alarming the united fears of Europe, which had prevailed on Lewis to ſubſcribe conditions ſo inadequate to his inſatiate ambition; he ſtill waited in anxious ſuſpence the death of Charles and the bed of that expiring monarch was beſieged by the intrigues and factions of the rival houſes of Auſtria and Bourbon; but the intractable haughtineſs of the former had diſguſted the miniſters of Spain; and they prevailed on their monarch to ſign a new will, which

which blaſted the hopes of Leopold, and preſerved the Spaniſh monarchy entire; expreſſing his indignation at the late injurious conduct of Lewis, Charles bequeathed his dominions to Philip duke of Anjou, grandſon to the king of France, and ſoon afterwards expired.

The treaty of partition augmented the power and dominions of France; the will of Charles aggrandiſed the houſe of Bourbon; Lewis preferred the elevation of his family to the intereſts of the ſtate, and accepted for his grandſon the royal fortune that was bequeathed him; at the ſame time he endeavoured to juſtify to his allies the infraction of the partition treaty, by obſerving that he had only departed from the words, and ſtill adherred to the ſpirit of it, which was to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe.

But none felt their diſappointment more deeply than the emperor Leopold, and William king of England. The former beheld Spain, and her dependencies, for ever ſeparated from the houſe of Auſtria; yet his weakneſs confined him to ineffectual remonſtrances; the latter, though ſecure of the affection of the united provinces, was regarded with jealouſy by the Engliſh parliament; and he found that people averſe to increaſe their debt, and ſacrifice their trade to gratify his enmity to Lewis by a new war, in which they conſidered themſelves but little intereſted.

Philip the Fifth was formally acknowledged by the king of England and the ſtates of Holland; he was ſupported by the elector of Bavaria and the duke of Savoy; and from Gibraltar to Antwerp, and from the Danube to Naples, Lewis beheld the power and influence of the houſe of Bourbon extended; he was elated with the boundleſs proſpect before him,

and his preſumption precipitated him into two errors, the ſource of all his future calamities.

A. D. 1701. While Leopold ſtill heſitated whether to acknowledge or oppoſe the elevation of Philip the Fifth, he was arouſed by a new proof of the inſatiate diſpoſition of Lewis. That monarch prevailed on the duke of Mantua to admit a garriſon into his capital, and all Italy trembled for her liberties; the emperor immediately prepared to aſſert the freedom of Europe by the ſword; his army was entruſted to the command of prince Eugene, ſon to the count of Soiſſons. This general, who afterwards became ſo dangerous an adverſary to Lewis the Fourteenth, had aſpired to military honours in his native country; but his requeſt of a regiment had been rejected by the king, and the indignant prince for ever renounced the ſervice of France, and ſought glory under the imperial ſtandard; his reſentment was the ſubject of deriſion at Paris; but he ſoon diſtinguiſhed his martial genius in ſucceſſive victories againſt the Turks, and was now ſummoned to avenge the wrongs of Italy and his own inſults. He entered that country with thirty thouſand men, and full powers to act according to his own diſcretion; he forced the poſt of Carpi; reduced mareſchal Catinat to act upon the defenſive; and overwhelmed the country between the Adige and the Adda; Villeroi, the favourite of Lewis, was ſent to aſſume the command over Catinat, and diſguſted by his arrogance the duke of Savoy; he compelled his reluctant colleagues to attack prince Eugene; in the ſtrong poſt of Chairi, on the banks of the Oglio, his temerity was chaſtiſed by a ſevere and bloody defeat; and five thouſand of the braveſt troops of France periſhed on that diſaſtrous day.

While

While the flames of war were kindled in Italy, James, the abdicated monarch of England, cloſed at St. Germain's his unfortunate and inglorious life. The tears and importunities of madame de Maintenon prevailed over the counſels of his moſt experienced miniſters, and Lewis, though he had acknowledged William's title by the peace of Ryſwick, now proclaimed the ſon of the deceaſed prince as James the Third. The enmity of William was ſtimulated by this wanton inſult; England, that had hitherto regarded war with averſion, partook in the indignation of her ſovereign, and prepared to vindicate by arms her own choice. The diſcernment of William improved the honourable enthuſiaſm; he concerted the triple alliance between the empire, the united provinces, and England, and haſtened, by his preſence and diligence, their formidable preparations.

But theſe inceſſant efforts exhauſted a frame naturally weak and delicate; a fall from his horſe quickened the progreſs of diſeaſe, and in the fifty-ſecond year of his age he yielded up his throne and life. The former was immediately filled by Anne, the daughter of the unfortunate James, and who had married the prince of Denmark; and the new queen diſpatched the earl of Marlborough to the Hague, to aſſure her allies that ſhe would adopt and ſupport the engagements of her predeceſſor. A. D. 1702.

That nobleman was ſoon after appointed to the command of the allied army, and diſplayed that military ſkill which he acquired under the mareſchal Turenne; Boufflers, to whom Lewis had entruſted his grandſon the duke of Burgundy to train to war, was confounded by the rapid and complicated movements of his adverſary. He evacuated Guelderland, retired under the walls of Liege, and finally ſought

ſhelter in Brabant; while Venlo, Ruremonde, and Liege, were ſucceſſively reduced by Marlborough.

In Italy prince Eugene, by a daring and well-concerted march, had ſurpriſed Cremona, and taken mareſchal Villeroi priſoner; after an obſtinate conflict he was expelled again the town; ſuffered ſome loſs at Santa Vittoria; and in the battle of Luzara was encountered by the duke of Vendoſme; that prince, in whom martial activity and indolence were wonderfully blended, was diſtinguiſhed by talents worthy the grandſon of Henry the Fourth; and though in the battle of Luzara the loſs on both ſides was nearly equal, yet Vendoſme claimed the advantage, and maintained it by the reduction of Luzara and Guaſtalla.

On the banks of the Rhine a more deciſive victory was obtained over prince Lewis of Baden by the mareſchal Villars; and ſoon after in the plains of Hochſtet, in concert with the elector of Bavaria, he charged and routed the imperial general count Styrum; three thouſand of the imperialiſts were left dead on the field, four thouſand were taken priſoners with their cannon and baggage; while mareſchal Tallard, near Spires, engaged and defeated the prince of Heſſe.

In the midſt of this ſucceſs France was alarmed by the deſertion of the duke of Savoy, who obtained from the emperor the promiſe of Montferrat, Mantua, Valencia, and the countries between the Po and the Tanaro. At the ſame time the enemies of the houſe of Bourbon were increaſed by the declaration of Peter the Second of Portugal, who acknowledged the archduke Charles as ſovereign of Spain.

A. D. 1703. 1704. The duke of Marlborough, with increaſe of dignity and the applauſe of his country, had returned to Flanders, poſſeſſed himſelf

of Bonn, the reſidence of the elector of Cologn, retaken Huy and Limbourg, and made himſelf maſter of the Lower Rhine; mareſchal Villeroi, redeemed from captivity, in vain endeavoured to check his progreſs, and was ſoon after deceived by his maſterly addreſs. To ſuccour the emperor, oppreſſed by the joint forces of France and the elector of Bavaria, Marlborough rapidly marched into the heart of Germany, and traverſing the Rhine, the Maine, and the Necker, was met at Mindelſheim by prince Eugene, who had quitted Italy, to aſſume the command of the imperialiſts on the banks of the Danube.

Villars had been recalled to wage an inglorious war in the mountains of the Cevennes againſt the unhappy proteſtants, whom the perſecution of Lewis had forced into revolt, and the glory of France was entruſted to mareſchal Tallard; the lines of the elector of Bavaria, near Donawert, had been forced by Marlborough with conſiderable loſs; but the appearance of Tallard inſpired that prince with freſh confidence; it was determined to riſk the fate of the war on a deciſive battle, and the French and Bavarians with ſuperior numbers advanced to attack the confederates, who effected a junction with the prince of Baden; but the plains of Hochſtet, which had ſo lately witneſſed the triumph of Villars, were rendered memorable by the defeat of Tallard. That general was vanquiſhed by the ſuperior ſkill of his adverſary; he himſelf was taken priſoner, with fourteen thouſand of the braveſt troops of France; twelve thouſand periſhed by the ſword, or were precipitated into the rapid ſtream of the Danube; and of an army of ſixty thouſand men, ſcarce twenty thouſand could be collected from its broken remains.

The

A. D. 1704. 1705. The battle of Hochſtet, better known in England by the name of Blenheim, expoſed to the ravages of the victors the electorate of Bavaria; and Lewis once more ſummoned the mareſchal Villars to the ſcene of his former glory; an accommodation had reſtored the inhabitants of the Cevennes to their allegiance; and the conduct of Villars proved him an adverſary worthy of Marlborough. He occupied a ſtrong camp, remained on the defenſive, and by his prudent meaſures compelled the duke to relinquiſh his deſign of penetrating into France by the courſe of the Moſelle.

The ſtates, anxious for their frontier, ſoon prevailed on the duke of Marlborough to return to Flanders; and Villeroi, who had taken Huy, and was preparing to beſiege Liege, abandoned the enterpriſe on the intelligence of his approach. Huy was again compelled to ſurrender to the confederates; and the lines of Villeroi were immediately after forced. That general croſſed the Geete and Dyle with precipitation; but the ſtrong ground he judiciouſly occupied prevented the allies from improving their advantage, and he ſhortly after reſtored his reputation by the reduction of Dieſt.

The numerous armies of the empire on the banks of the Rhine were baffled by the ſkill of Villars; and in Italy the duke of Vendoſme inceſſantly preſſed prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, fought the bloody but indeciſive battle of Caſſano, gained that of Caſſinato, and even menaced Turin with the horrors of a ſiege. But in Spain the allies, who had proclaimed the archduke Charles, king, obtained the moſt rapid and ſplendid advantages; the earl of Peterborough poſſeſſed himſelf of Barcelona; all Catalonia ranged itſelf under the banners of the houſe of Auſtria, while Gibraltar, which the year before had been wreſted by the Engliſh from Philip, ſecure

ſecure in her native ſtrength, defeated the vain and feeble efforts of the mareſchal de Teſſe.

Lewis had reaped ſome ſatisfaction from the gallantry of his natural ſon, the count of Toulouſe, who with the French fleet engaged, with honour and without loſs, that of England. But this was the laſt effort of marine greatneſs; the numerous enterpriſes of the king had exhauſted his treaſures, and his navy was gradually ſuffered to ſink into that ſtate of inſignificance from whence he had raiſed it. Even the death of the emperor abated not the ardour of the confederates, and his ſon Joſeph ſucceeded to his throne and deſigns.

The campaign in Flanders opened with events the moſt diſaſtrous. The command there was ſtill entruſted to the mareſchal Villeroi, and that general, impatient of glory, yet unendowed with talents to acquire it, rejected the advice of his officers, and determined to hazard a deciſive engagement againſt the allies. Near the village of Ramillies, France was vanquiſhed by the injudicious diſpoſition of her own, and the conſummate ſkill of the Engliſh commander. In the action and purſuit twenty thouſand men were ſlaughtered or taken priſoners; Antwerp, Bruſſels, Oſtend. Menin, and the greateſt part of Spaniſh Flanders were the prey of the victor; the court of Lewis was filled with conſternation; but the monarch himſelf ſtill preſerved his magnanimity; inſtead of reproaching, he endeavoured to conſole the unfortunate Villeroi; and to his expreſſions of concern, replied, "People at our time of life, monſieur Mareſchal, are "not fortunate." A. D. 1706

The flattering proſpect in Italy ſtill promiſed to repair the diſaſters of Flanders; Turin there was inveſted by mareſchal Feuillade; and the ſiege was covered by the duke of Orleans, the nephew of Lewis,

Lewis, but whoſe authority was controlled by the ſuperior but ſecret powers of mareſchal Marſin. The city was already reduced to the laſt diſtreſs, when the beſiegers were alarmed by the rapid approach of prince Eugene. In a long and painful march that celebrated commander had pierced the moſt difficult defiles, had traverſed the rapid ſtreams of the Adige and the Po, and effecting a junction with the duke of Savoy, now preſſed forwards to the relief of the deſponding capital. The duke of Orleans would have quitted his lines to have met and encountered the enemy; this bold but prudent propoſal was over-ruled by mareſchal Marſin; the French awaited the attack in their intrenchments, but their confidence was extinguiſhed by the diſſentions of their generals; prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy charged with rival ardour, and in leſs than two hours their efforts obtained a complete victory. The duke of Orleans was wounded; mareſchal Manſir killed; the ſcattered remnant of the vanquiſhed troops directed their haſty and trembling ſteps towards Pignerol; and by the fate of one day the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and Piedmont, with the kingdom of Naples, were torn from the houſe of Bourbon.

An advantage obtained by the French in Mantua over the prince of Heſſe, could but ill compenſate the diſaſtrous battle of Turin. The courtiers of Lewis ſtood aghaſt at the intelligence, and madame de Maintenon alone ventured to inform him that all Italy was occupied by his enemies. His grandſon Philip had been compelled to abandon precipitately the ſiege of Barcelona; Charles had entered in triumph, and been proclaimed in Madrid. But that prince ſuffered the moment of enterpriſe to elapſe, and was in his turn reduced to evacuate the capital, and fly before the arms of the duke of Berwick,

wick, natural ſon to James the Second of England.

Lewis, humbled, by repeated defeats, ſued in vain for peace; the allies elated by their victories, determined to purſue their advantages, and rejected his propoſals. Yet the war in Flanders was continued this campaign with little effect; the duke of Vendoſme, who commanded the French, remained upon the defenſive; and the duke of Marlborough was diſpatched into Saxony to penetrate into the intentions, and conciliate the friendſhip of Charles the Twelfth king of Sweden. That monarch, young and warlike, and ambitious of the fame of a conqueror, had already ſpread his renown through the north. He had preſcribed laws to Denmark; he had defeated the Muſcovites, a people ſcarce known in Europe, and juſt emerging from barbariſm; aud had purſued with implacable enmity, Auguſtus king of Poland into his hereditary dominions of Saxony. The confederates trembled leſt he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt the empire; but Marlborough was equally ſucceſsful in the cabinet as the field; he gained the miniſters of Charles; and that monarch ſoon after repaſſed the Oder, and directed his march towards Muſcovy in ſearch of barren laurels. A. D. 1707.

In Spain the duke of Berwick triumphed at Almanza over the forces of the confederates, and reſtored the ſinking fortunes of Philip. In Germany mareſchal Villars paſſed the Rhine, preſſed the Imperialiſts, and even penetrated to the Danube. Yet he was prevented from improving his advantage by the recall of conſiderable part of his army to the defence of France itſelf, which was now attacked within its limits. The duke of Savoy and prince Eugene had forced the paſſage of the river Var, advanced along the coaſt of Provence, and incamped under

under the walls of Toulon. But the tardy motions of the Germans, who were to have joined them, and the activity of France, compelled them to abandon the enterpriſe; and they retired, after having bombarded the town, and convinced Lewis that his native dominions were not invulnerable.

A. D. 1708. The tranſient ſucceſs of the laſt campaign revived the ſpirits of the king of France; he determined to make one more exertion in favour of the exiled branch of Stuart. Seventy tranſports with ſix thouſand troops, convoyed by eight men of war, ſailed from Dunkirk; but the coaſts of Britain were protected by her numerous fleet; the vigilance of her officers were already alarmed; the adherents of James were ſecured and diſarmed; and the French, after a fruitleſs attempt to land in Scotland, eſteemed themſelves happy in ſafely regaining Dunkirk.

Flanders at firſt promiſed a fairer harveſt, and the forces of France commanded by Vendoſme, were animated by the preſence of the duke of Burgundy, eldeſt ſon of the dauphin. The inhabitants of Ghent and Bruges, corrupted by the gold of Lewis, opened their gates. But the hopes of the French were blaſted by the approach of Marlborough on the banks of the Scheld they were attacked by that general, who had affected a junction with prince Eugene; the battle of Oudenarde was long, obſtinate and bloody; night parted the combatants; the French were rather preſſed than vanquiſhed; but the troops of Lewis, from ſucceſſive defeats, had loſt all confidence, and they diſperſed under cover of the darkneſs: Liſle, defended by mareſchal Boufflers in perſon, and fortified by the conſummate ſkill of Vauban, was reduced by the confederates; Ghent and Bruges were recovered; and the elector

of

of Bavaria was compelled to retire from the walls of Bruſſels.

In Spain, Germany, and Italy a feeble and languid war was carried on; in the former indeed the honourable attachment of the Caſtilians to Philip became every day more evident; but in the latter the duke of Savoy eluded the vigilance of Villars, and rendered himſelf maſter of Exiles, and Feneſtrelles; the Britiſh fleet reduced the iſlands of Sardinia and Minorca; and the difficulties of Lewis increaſed on every ſide. The taking of Liſle had opened a road to the very gates of Paris; that proud city was inſulted and alarmed by the predatory incurſions of the enemy; and a prince who had carried his arms a few years before to the banks of the Danube, the Tagus, and the Po, now doubted whether he could remain in his capital with ſafely. The deſpair of the nation was completed by the ſeverity of the winter; the olive trees throughout the ſouth of France were deſtroyed, the grain was cut off, and the proſpect of impending famine threw a daeper gloom over the calamities of war. Accuſtomed to proſperity, Lewis reluctantly bowed beneath his adverſe fortune, and inſtructed his miniſter Torcy to open at the Hague a negociation for peace. A. D. 1708. 1709.

But though the king of France agreed to yield the whole Spaniſh monarchy to the houſe of Auſtria; to cede Furnes, Ypres, Tournay, Liſle, &c. as a barrier to Holland; to own the title of Queen Anne to the Britiſh throne; and to remove the pretender from France; yet theſe conceſſions appeared inſufficient; and the allies demanded that the king ſhould aſſiſt in driving his grandſon from the throne of Spain; Lewis rejected the ignominious condition with indignation, and added, A. D. 1709.

" ſince

" ſince I muſt make war, I had rather it was againſt " my enemies than my children."

The internal miſery of France ſerved to ſwell her forces, and the wretched huſbandman ſought in the profeſſion of arms, that ſubſiſtence which he could no longer extort from the earth. Mareſchal Villars was recalled from Italy to aſſume the command of an army formidable from its numbers and deſpair. In the neighbourhood of Malplaquet he diligently fortified a camp naturally ſtrong; Marlborough and Eugene, animated by the capture of Tournay, ruſhed to the attack. The battle was diſputed with an obſtinacy ſcarce to be equalled even in theſe ſanguinary annals; the allies were frequently repulſed, and as frequently returned to the charge; Villars himſelf was wounded, and Bouffiers, who ſucceeded to the command, at length withdrew his troops from the unavailing conflict. Yet his retreat partook in nothing of flight; it was neither confuſed nor precipitate; eight thouſand of the French were indeed left dead on the ground; but the confederates purchaſed the honour of the field of battle at the expence of twenty thouſand men.

Mons ſoon after ſurrendered to the allies, and cloſed the campaign in Flanders. The efforts of the contending powers in Spain, Germany, and Italy were ſtill feeble and inadequate; but in the north the king of Sweden, who had endeavoured to penetrate into the heart of Ruſſia, was at Pultowa defeated by the ſovereign of that country, afterwards ſo celebrated as Peter the Great; the Swediſh army was entirely deſtroyed; and Charles, who had aſpired to rival the fame of Alexander, wounded and accompanied only by a few faithful guards, croſſed the Boryſthenes in a ſmall boat, and ſought ſhelter in the Ottoman dominions.

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The negociations of peace had been resumed with as little ſucceſs as in the enſuing year. The allies took the field, and mareſchal Villars ſtudiouſly avoided a deciſive engagement. Douay, Bethune, Saint Venant, and Aire were ſucceſſively reduced by the confederates; but theſe towns were long and obſtinately defended; and the beſiegers loſt by the ſword, by diſeaſe, and fatigue above twenty-ſix thouſand men; diſabled by ſucceſs, and ſatisfied with their new acquiſitions, they withdrew into winter quarters. A. D. 1710.

Germany and Italy preſented nothing worthy of attention; but in Spain the campaign that opened with events the moſt inauſpicious to the houſe of Bourbon, was cloſed with the moſt ſplendid and deciſive ſucceſs. In the battle of Almenaſa, the rival monarchs encountered each other with mutual rage, but Philip was compelled to yield to the ſuperior fortune of Charles. In the battle of Saragoſſa he ſuffered a ſecond and more bloody defeat; Madrid was again occupied by the confederates; and the ſituation of Philip appeared deſperate to his moſt ſanguine adherents. But he was raiſed from deſpondence by the courage and conduct of the duke of Vendoſme. His affability, frankneſs, and generoſity conciliated the eſteem of every claſs of men; he again kindled the enthuſiaſm of the Caſtilians, aſſembled the troops ſcattered by the defeat of Saragoſſa, allured to his ſtandard the moſt gallant ſpirits of Spain conducted the king in triumph to his capital, and purſued with vigour the aſtoniſhed and diſmayed enemy. At Brehuega general Stanhope, with five thouſand Engliſh, ſurrendered after a brave reſiſtance; at Villa Vicioſa Staremberg was defeated with the loſs of near ſix thouſand men; and though his retreat challenged the admiration of his adverſary, yet the progreſs of Vendoſme was rapid and uninterrupted;

uninterrupted; and Portugal in her turn was taught by the victor to experience the calamities of war.

A. D. 1711. The ſucceſs of Philip in Spain could not alleviate the diſtreſs of France, though it might moderate the preſumption of her enemies; that kingdom, totally exhauſted by her inceſſant efforts, preſented a ſcene of dreary deſolation; but the peace, which ſhe had in vain implored by the moſt humiliating conceſſions, was now facilitated by two events as favourable as they were unexpected. Amidſt a glorious and ſucceſsful war, the queen of England was prevailed on to diſmiſs thoſe miniſters who had conducted it, and admit to her councils a new deſcription of men who had ſyſtematically laboured to oppoſe it. About the ſame time, in the vigour of his age, the emperor Joſeph expired; and his brother Charles, the competitor of Philip for Spain, was raiſed to the Imperial throne. The confederates had been arouſed to action by the dread of uniting in one hand the ſceptres of France and Spain; and they could not but regard with ſimilar jealouſy, the latter kingdom added to the hereditary dominions of Charles, and the power that he derived from the Imperial crown.

Though the female paſſions of his ſovereign had exiled his friends from her confidence, yet the reputation of Marlborough preſerved him from being involved in their immediate diſgrace; he again reſumed the command in Flanders; and mareſchal Villars, who was alſo again oppoſed to him, well acquainted with the ardent deſire of Lewis for peace, and conſcious that he conducted the laſt army the ſtate could furniſh, dexterouſly eluded every effort of the confederates to force him to a deciſive engagement. He had encamped behind the river Sanſet, and had fortified his lines with ſuch ſkill and diligence, as obtained for them the character of impenetrable. But he was deceived by the maſterly addreſs

dreſs of Marlborough; he was compelled to abandon the works on which ſo much coſt and labour had been laviſhed, and had the mortification of beholding the allies inveſt and reduce the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Bouchain.

This laſt enterpriſe of Marlborough cloſed the long and ſplendid ſeries of his martial exploits; he was recalled to England; and ſoon after diſguſted at the aſcendancy of a party whoſe implacable enmity he was no ſtranger to, reſigned his command. His place was ſupplied by the duke of Ormond, equal to him alone in perſonal courage, and whoſe attachment to the new miniſtry was his principal recommendation. But while each power prepared with vigour for a ſecond campaign, negociations for peace were ſecretly carried on between the courts of Paris and London. Lewis entruſted this important and delicate concern to the knowledge and addreſs of Menager, deputy from the city of Rouen; certain preliminaries were by his diligence and prudence adjuſted, but before they could be reduced to form, the operations of war had been reſumed in Flanders. A. D. 1712.

Mareſchal Villars ſtill remained upon the defenſive, and ſuſtained the cautious part that he had acted in the preceding campaign; but prince Eugene inſulted and burnt the ſuburbs of Arras; and was no ſooner joined by the duke of Ormond, than he advanced towards the French, and propoſed to the duke to give battle; but the Engliſh general had received inſtructions not to hazard an engagement, and the prince, diſappointed in this favourite object, inveſted Queſnoi. Before that town ſurrendered, a ceſſation of arms was proclaimed between France and Great Britain; the duke of Ormond, with the Britiſh troops, withdrew from the confederates, and directed his march towards Dunkirk, which was delivered by Lewis to the Engliſh as A. D. 1712.

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a pledge of his intentions to fulfil the preliminaries of peace which his envoy had ſigned.

Though deſerted by ſo important an ally, the army of prince Eugene was ſtill formidable. Mareſchal Villars beheld with indignation Queſnoi taken in his ſight; and the confederates ſoon after inveſted Landreci. But prince Eugene is accuſed of errors on this occaſion which did not eſcape the vigilance of his veteran antagoniſt. His lines were too much extended; his magazines at Marchiennes were at too great a diſtance, and the earl of Albemarle, who was poſted between Denain and the prince's camp, was not near enough to ſupport him in caſe of an attack. Mareſchal Villars ordered his cavalry to advance within ſight of the camp of the prince, and while that quarter of the confederates prepared for action, he rapidly preſſed forwards with his infantry towards Denain; pierced the intrenchments of Albemarle, cut in pieces thoſe who reſiſted, forced the ſurvivors to ſeek their ſafety in flight, took that general himſelf priſoner, and ſlaughtered or diſperſed a body of fourteen thouſand men. Prince Eugene had marched in haſte to their ſupport, but before he could arrive the action was over. In endeavouring to wreſt from the French a bridge over the Scheld which they had occupied, he augmented his loſs; and was at laſt obliged to withdraw to his camp, after having witneſſed the defeat of his beſt troops.

All the poſts along the Scarpe, as far as Marchiennes, were ſwept away by the victors, and Marchiennes itſelf was ſoon after inveſted by Villars; though defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, ſuch was the ardour of the aſſailants, that it was compelled to ſurrender in three days; all the ammunition and proviſions that the enemy had laid up for the whole campaign, fell into the hands of the French; the confederates retired from the walls of Landreci; while Villars reduced Douay and Queſnoi,

noi, poſſeſſed himſelf in the latter of the military ſtores of the allies, and terminated the campaign by the reduction of the important town of Bouchain.

The preliminaries which had been ſigned between the courts of Paris and London A. D. 1710. were ſucceeded by open conferences for peace at Utrecht; theſe were quickened by the brilliant and rapid ſucceſs of Villars; the emperor and ſome of the independent princes of Germany ſtill maintained an haughty and ſullen reſerve, and refuſed to ſheath the ſword. But Great Britain, Holland, Pruſſia, Portugal, and Savoy, acquieſced in the terms propoſed, and ſigned ſeparate treaties of peace.

By theſe Philip the Fifth was acknowledged king of Spain, but at the ſame time he ſolemnly renounced all pretenſions to the crown of France; Lewis, for the other branches of the houſe of Bourbon, diſavowed all right to the future ſucceſſion to any part of the Spaniſh territories, and every precaution was taken to ſeparate for ever thoſe kindred thrones. The king of France conſented to guarantee the crown of Britain to the proteſtant line of the houſe of Hanover, to demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and to yield acroſs the Atlantic, Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and Acadia; he promiſed to ſequeſter into the hands of Holland, for the houſe of Auſtria, all that France, or her allies, poſſeſſed in the Spaniſh Netherlands, at the concluſion of the treaty of Ryſwick; he conſented to allow the title of king of Pruſſia to the elector of Brandenburgh, and to cede to him the town of Guelders, with part of the Spaniſh Guelderland; with Portugal, all places that had been taken on either ſide were mutually reſtored; to the duke of Savoy was given the iſland of Sicily, with the title of king; he was alſo ſecured in the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, in caſe of failure in the king of Spain and his poſterity; and in exchange for the valley of Barcelonetta and its dependencies, he obtained the reſtitu-

tion of the duchy of Savoy, the county of Nice, and all the country along the Alps towards Piedmont.

By ſuch conceſſions Lewis diſarmed the rage of his moſt formidable enemies, and reſcued his kingdom from the deſtruction that impended over it; amidſt misfortune and defeat, he eſtabliſhed his grandſon on the throne of Spain, whoſe pretenſions had firſt excited the hoſtile confederacy of Europe; and he was now left to turn his whole force againſt the emperor, who deſerted and alone, ſtill nouriſhed the flames of war. From the Scheld mareſchal Villars rapidly directed his ſteps towards the Rhine; he made himſelf maſter of Spires and Worms, took Landau, pierced the lines which prince Eugene had ordered to be drawn from Briſgau, defeated Vauban, and, laſtly, inveſted and reduced Friburg, the capital of Upper Auſtria.

His approach awakened Charles the Sixth from the deluſive idea that he had entertained of his own ſtrength, and he now panted for that repoſe which he ſo lately indignantly rejected. At Radſtadt mareſchal Villars and the prince Eugene, who had been ſo often oppoſed to each other in the field, were now oppoſed in the cabinet. Both diſplayed that frankneſs of character for which they were diſtinguiſhed; and deſpiſing the intrigues of courts, they ſoon adjuſted the different pretenſions of their ſovereigns. Lewis yielded to the emperor the fort of Keil, the the city of Friburg, and old Brilac, with its dependencies; but he retained Straſbourg and Landau, the ſovereignty of Alſace, and procured his allies, the electors of Cologn and Bavaria, to be reinſtated in their ranks and dominions.

A. D. 1710. 1711. The domeſtic miſery of Lewis had kept pace with the public calamities; that court, the ſplendour and magnificent entertainments of which had excited the envy and admiration of Europe, had long been impreſſed with a deep and ſettled

tled gloom. The paſſion of the king for madame de Maintenon, and the addreſs of that lady, who ſtill kept alive his hopes, without gratifying his deſires, had induced him to conſent to a private marriage; the art of ſurgery in Europe was yet feeble and crude; a fiſtula, with which the king was attacked, ſpread a general alarm; and though the operation was ſucceſsfully performed, yet he after led a more ſerious and retired life, and chiefly devoted his hours to the converſation of madame de Maintenon, whoſe influence increaſed with his years.

But it was while his mind was yet op- A. D. 1711. preſſed by a long and bloody war, inva- 1712. riably unfortunate, that he was doomed to experience the ſevereſt pangs of domeſtic affliction. The death of the king's only ſon, which happened this year; the duke of Burgundy, the ducheſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon, all ſwept away within a few months, and laid in the ſame tomb; the only ſurviving child at the point of death; theſe private woes added to thoſe of the public, mark the cloſe of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth as an æra of calamity; and a wretched people awaited in ſilence to behold the former greatneſs and glory of their monarch extinguiſhed by the dark cloud of miſery which obſcured his ſetting ſun.

From theſe gloomy apprehenſions they A. D. 1714. were relieved by the ſound of peace; but one mortification ſtill remained to embitter the laſt hours of the king of France. He had enlarged the canal of Mardyke, and formed an harbour there, which was thought already equal to that of Dunkirk. The earl of Stair, ambaſſador from England, remonſtrated againſt this evaſion of the treaty of Utrecht in the ſtrongeſt terms, and Lewis reluctantly conſented to diſcontinue the works.

The Catalans ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the authority of Philip of Spain; bold and hardy, they flattered themſelves with the hopes of erecting a repub-

lic in that fruitful country; and Lewis, who during the latter part of the war had not been able to ſupport his grandſon, now fitted out an armament for his aſſiſtance. A ſquadron of French ſhips blocked up the harbour, and mareſchal Berwick, with a conſiderable army, inveſted Barcelona by land. The inhabitants defended themſelves with a courage that was fortified by fanaticiſm; the prieſts and monks ran to arms, and mounted the trenches as if it had been a religious war; but the queen of England, faithful to the treaty ſhe had concluded, refuſed their ſupplications for aſſiſtance; the aſſailants at length penetrated into the town; and the beſieged, after having defended ſtreet after ſtreet, were overpowered by the number of their enemies; the clemency of Philip granted to them their lives and eſtates; but their important privileges were for ever aboliſhed; and the ſpirit of that daring people, who, as Tacitus happily expreſſes himſelf, "only ſeemed to "live when engaged in war," was finally broken.

A. D. 1714. Queen Anne had expired in England, and the life of Lewis now alſo drew near its end. At the age of ſeventy ſeven, that vanity and ambition which had agitated the years of manhood, were nearly extinguiſhed. He coldly liſtened to the ſolicitations of the unfortunate James, who aſpired to aſcend the throne of his ſiſter, already filled by the elector of Hanover. To the importunities of that prince he granted a ſmall ſupply of money, and a veſſel fitted out in the name of an individual; but while that enterpriſe hung in ſuſpenſe, Lewis himſel was ſeized with a diſeaſe that brought him to the grave.

In his laſt hours he diſplayed a greatneſs of mind worthy of his elevated ſituation. "Why do you "weep," ſaid he to his domeſtics, "did you think "me immortal? The fortitude with which he beheld his end, was diveſted of that glare of oſtentation which had tinſelled the reſt of his life; he had the courage even to acknowledge his errors; and his

advice to his infant ſucceſſor was to avoid that glory which he himſelf had fought by war, and to conſider the happineſs of his people as the principal object of his government. To madame de Maintenon he left no fixed ſtipend, and contented himſelf with recommending her to the care of the duke of Orleans; ſhe immediately retired to St. Cyr, which had been founded at her perſuaſion for the education of young ladies of quality, and demanded only a penſion of eighty thouſand livres; this was regularly paid her to her death, an event which took place in about four years afterwards.

The character of Lewis the Fourteenth, whoſe long and various reign was alternately the glory and misfortune of his ſubjects, has exerciſed the ingenuity of the moſt celebrated hiſtorians. The maſculine beauty of his perſon was embelliſhed with a noble air; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with the higheſt affability and politeneſs; elegant without effeminacy, addicted to pleaſure without neglecting buſineſs, decent in his very vices, and beloved in the midſt of arbitrary power. But his qualities ſeemed rather thoſe that attract a momentary regard, than command a permament eſteem! the talents, the fire of the ſtateſman and the hero were ſtill wanting; vanity rather prompted him to inſult, than ambition to enſlave his neighbours; though he frequently took the field, and reduced in perſon Franche Comté, and ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns of the Netherlands, yet his perſonal courage has not eſcaped imputation; and in repeated campaigns he never expoſed his life or reputation to the hazard of a battle. A purer praiſe attends the care with which he foſtered the arts and ſciences; though his own acquiſitions in literature were few and limited, yet he patronized the learned with a liberal hand; and the painter, the ſculptor, and the architect were woke into life by the genial ray of his bounty.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Acceſſion of Lewis the fifteenth.—Regency of the duke of Orleans.—War with Spain.—Miſſiſſippi ſcheme.—Death of the duke of Orleans.—Adminiſtration of Cardinal Fleury.—War with the Emperor.—Lorrain united to the crown of France.—Death of the Emperor.—Lewis ſupports the pretenſions of the Elector of Bavaria to the Imperial throne.—General war throughout Europe.—Rebellion in Great Britain.—Death of the Emperor, Charles the ſeventh;—Succeeded by Francis, conſort to the Queen of Hungary.—Victories of the French in Flanders.—Loſſes by ſea.—Peace of Aix La Chapelle.

THE cares of government, which the tender years of Lewis the Fifteenth rendered him unable to aſſume, were devolved by the will of the deceaſed monarch on a council of regency, at the head of which was placed the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood; But the duke received with diſguſt a diſpoſition, which inſtead of entruſting to him the ſole power, gave him only a caſting vote. He appealed from the injurious deciſion to the parliament of Paris; that aſſembly ſet aſide the teſtament of a king whom living they feared and obeyed, and declared the duke of Orleans ſole regent.

The unfortunate James (from his empty claim to the throne of Great Britain better afterwards known as the Pretender) had landed in Scotland, and had experienced in his reception the hereditary attachment of that country to the Houſe of Stuart: But the ardour of his undiſciplined followers was repulſed by the veteran troops of George the Firſt, who ſwayed the ſceptre of Britain. The pretender himſelf eſcaped from the inauſpicious coaſt, to hide his diſgrace in Commercy, in Lorrain; his unhappy adherents periſhed on the ſcaffold, or were driven into exile; and his future hopes were extinguiſhed by

by the friendſhip which the regent of France aſſiduouſly cultivated with the houſe of Hanover.

The duke of Orleans poſſeſſed courage, penetration, and an underſtanding improved by ſtudy: Frank and eaſy in his manners, of all the deſcendants of Henry the Fourth he reſembled him the moſt; but his extravagant thirſt after novelty and pleaſure caſt a ſhade over his more ſplendid qualities; and his exceſſive attachment to the fair impaired his conſtitution, and diminiſhed his reputation. The early meaſures of his adminiſtration afforded to the people the moſt favourable impreſſions of his judgment, his equity, and moderation. His gratitude reſtored to the parliament the right of remonſtrating againſt the edicts of the crown: He compelled thoſe who during the late reign had fattened on the miſeries of the people, to diſgorge their ill-gotten wealth; he re-peopled the cities that had been deſerted, and the lands that had been laid waſte by the ravages of war; he promoted commerce, rewarded agriculture, and diſpelled the jealouſy that Europe had entertained of the turbulent diſpoſition of France, by a cloſe alliance with Great Britain and the United Provinces. A. D. 1715, 1716.

But that tranquillity which the pacific inclinations of the regent promiſed to maintain, was ſoon interrupted by the reſtleſs and intriguing genius of cardinal Alberoni, firſt miniſter of Spain. That ſtateſman, whoſe extravagant and chimerical projects alarmed and aſtoniſhed Europe, had re eſtabliſhed in a few years the finances and troops of the Spaniſh monarchy; he now formed the deſign of recovering Sardinia from the emperor; of wreſting Sicily from the dukes of Savoy, to whom it had been aſſigned by the treaty of Utrecht; and of eſtabliſhing the Pretender on the throne of England. He negociated with the Ottoman Porte; the Czar Peter the Great, of Ruſſia; and Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden. The former were to reſume the war againſt the emperor, which the A. D. 1716, 1717.

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courage and conduct of prince Eugene had lately compelled them to relinquiſh with diſgrace; the two latter were to invade Great Britain, reſtore the family of Stuart, and expel the Houſe of Hanover.

But the project of Alberoni was ſtill incomplete as long as the duke of Orleans retained the regency of France. His intrigues ſoon penetrated into the very capital of that kingdom; he kindled an inſurrection in Brittany; introduced in diſguiſe ſmall parties of troops to the ſupport of the inſurgents; and excited thoſe who envied the fortune, to oppoſe the authority and ſeize the perſon of the regent. But the vigilance of the duke of Orleans detected the conſpiracy; the partizans of Alberoni ſuffered on the ſcaffold; the king of Sweden, on whom he principally depended, loſt his life in Norway; the Czar was occupied in the internal regulation of his dominions; the Turks refuſed to enter into new wars; and the ambitious cardinal ſaw at once the emperor, the regent of France, and the king of Great Britain united againſt him.

Yet this powerful combination did not entirely baffle the extenſive ſchemes of Alberoni; the fleet he had fitted out, ravaged and reduced the iſland of Sardinia to the ſubjection of Spain: From thence it directed its courſe towards Sicily; ſucceſsfully landed the forces of Philip; and the banners of that monarch were ſoon diſplayed from ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable towns. But while the Spaniards urged the ſiege of Meſſina, they were ſurpriſed by the appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron. The fleet of Spain was defeated after a feeble reſiſtance; and the remnant that eſcaped the purſuit of the victors, abandoned the hopeleſs enterpriſe on Sicily, and fought ſhelter in their own harbours.

The duke of Orleans had declared war againſt Spain in concert with the Engliſh; and the firſt hoſtile operations commenced by Lewis the Fifteenth were againſt his uncle, whom Lewis the Fourteenth had,

had, at the expence of ſo much blood, eſtabliſhed on his throne. The forces of France were entruſted to the mareſchal duke of Berwick, whoſe victories had formerly contributed to place the ſceptre in the hands of Philip; he ſucceſſively inveſted and reduced Fonterabia and St. Sebaſtian in the province of Biſcay; and Spain, overwhelmed with defeat both by ſea and land, conſented to ſue for peace. The conditions were dictated by the regent of France: He inſiſted that Philip ſhould diſmiſs his miniſter; and Alberoni was delivered to the French troops, and conducted to the frontiers of Italy, having only obtained by his ſplendid deſigns the character of a raſh and inconſiderate projector. Fonterabia and St. Sebaſtian were reſtored to Spain; but Sicily was transferred to the emperor Charles; and the dukes of Savoy, in exchange, acquired Sardinia, and with the title of king have poſſeſſed that iſland ever ſince.

To cement the kindred thrones of France and Spain, the duke of Orleans projected a double marriage. His own daughter, Mademoiſelle Montpenſier was united to Don Lewis, prince of the Aſturias; and the infanta of Spain was betrothed to her couſin the king of France. The ties of blood but ſeldom bind ambitious princes; but the late rupture between the two courts had reciprocally opened their eyes to their real intereſts, and the Houſe of Bourbon was convinced that by unanimity alone it could reſiſt its common enemies.

That ſpirit of enterpriſe which could no A. D.
longer be diſplayed in war, was now di- 1716. 1718.
verted to the internal regulations of the ſtate. A Scotchman named John Law, who had been obliged to fly from England for murder, had formed the plan of a company that might pay off the debts of a nation by notes, and reimburſe itſelf by its profits. This needy adventurer had wandered through Europe, and endeavoured to excite the attention of various courts. He firſt opened the project to Victor

tor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and who afterwards acquired the title of king of Sardinia; but that prince rejected the propoſal, with the reply, "that he was not rich enough to ruin himſelf." It was received with more favourable prepoſſeſſions in France; every circumſtance of public affairs contributed to recommend it: A debt of two hundred millions oppreſſed the ſtate; no common reſources appeared equal to the enormous burthen; and the inclinations of the people, ever prone to novelty, were ſeconded by the diſpoſition of the regent.

The bank at firſt iſſued their notes with caution; but the credit with which they were attended ſoon increaſed the amount; its connection with the Miſſiſſippi, a trading company, from which great advantages were expected, allured the public with the hopes of extraordinary gain. It now aſpired to grander objects; was declared the Bank of the King; embraced the management of the trade to Senegal; acquired the privileges which the celebrated Colbert had granted to the old Eaſt India Company; and, finally, engroſſed the farming of the national taxes.

A. D. 1719, 1720. But this plan, which, if confined within proper bounds, might have been attended with the moſt ſalutary effects, ſoon burſt the limits that had been propoſed; and ſweeping before it the feeble barriers of policy and diſcretion, overwhelmed the nation in its rapid courſe. Myriads daily crowded to exchange their gold for bills; and the fluctuation of the ſtock afforded an opportunity to obſcure individuals to acquire immenſe fortunes. The notes circulated exceeded fourſcore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. At length the deluſion was diſpelled: The baſis of the fabric was credit; and the moment a doubt prevailed, the whole edifice fell to the ground. By drawing upon it for conſiderable ſums, the late financiers and great bankers exhauſted the royal bank; every one was now as eager to convert their notes into money as they were lately to convert their money into notes; but

but the diſproportion was enormous; the arrets of the regent inſtead of reſtoring confidence to the people extinguiſhed it; and the ſame year that gave birth to the Company's actions beheld them return to their primitive nothing.

Law himſelf, the author of this fatal project, who had been raiſed from a mere adventurer to a lord, and from a banker to a miniſter of ſtate, was the ſame year loaded with the public execration, obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a poſt-chaiſe that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon-Condé with only two thouſand louis d'ors, the ſcanty remnant of his tranſitory opulence; ſubſiſted ſome time at London on the liberality of a French nobleman, and died at Venice in a ſtate little removed from indigence.

It was not France alone that was afflicted by the credulous avarice of her people; in London, in Amſterdam, and Rotterdam, the ſame ſpirit of ſpeculation prevailed. The Engliſh entered with ſimilar ardour into the viſionary hopes of the South Sea Company, and experienced a ſimilar diſappointment. Thoſe ſhares which had been eagerly ſought after at the price of one thouſand pounds ſterling, were in the courſe of the ſame month ſold for one hundred and fifty; and ſo extenſive had the infatuation ſpread, that Europe trembled at the proſpect of a general bankruptcy.

The attention of the regent was engroſſed in aſſuaging that diſtraction which the project of Law had excited. An account and valuation were taken of the private fortunes of individuals; and this laborious work was planned, digeſted, and conducted by four brothers of the name of Paris, who had never before any connection with public affairs, but whoſe genius and application deſerved to be entruſted with the wealth of the nation. They eſtabliſhed a ſufficient number of offices for the maſters of requeſts and other judges; they reduced to order

A. D. 1720, 1721.

order the huge and misshapen chaos before them; five hundred eleven thousand and nine persons, most of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal; the enormous demand was liquidated at a certain sum, and government became responsible for the future payment of it.

The parliament of Paris, by their support of the pretensions of the duke of Orleans to the regency, had excited his gratitude; their opposition to the brilliant but fatal projects of Law had aroused his indignation: He banished them to Pontoise; and the citizens, who in the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth had vindicated the privileges of that assembly by a general insurrection, now beheld them exiled without a single murmur. A dearth that depopulated Provence, was submitted to with more honourable resignation; commerce soon repaired the distress the late innovations had occasioned; and the court, which on the death of Lewis had resumed its wonted magnificence, was now distinguished by superior luxury and profusion.

A. D. 1720, 1722. The regent had elevated to the post of minister, cardinal Dubois; a man who, descended from an obscure apothecary in a remote province, had acquired the first dignities of the church, and the most eminent situation in the state. By the recommendation of the duke of Vendosme, he was introduced into the family of the late duke of Orleans, and preferred to be tutor to the present; by administering to the pleasures of his pupil he gained his confidence; a small share of wit, a strong turn for debauchery, great flexibility, and, above all, a taste like his master's for singularity, raised his immense fortune: Yet he still remained rather the companion of the regent's excesses than the partner of his counsels. A court, thoughtless, dissipated, and unprincipled, only ridiculed that promotion they ought to have regarded with indignation; and death soon after interrupted the licentious career of the cardinal,

cardinal, who expired as he had lived, with a thorough contempt of all religious ceremonies.

The king had now attained that age which was fixed for his majority; the regency of courſe expired; and the duke of Orleans aſſumed the title of miniſter. But his own life alſo drew near its end; his conſtitution was ſhaken by exceſs, and his intemperate paſſions allowed him not to follow that regimen his phyſicians preſcribed: He himſelf had been ſtrongly addicted to chemiſtry; and his attachment to that ſcience had awakened the jealouſy of the people. At the cloſe of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, when the ſudden deaths of the royal family opened to him a proſpect of ſucceeding to the throne, public rumour had accuſed him of haſtening their deaths by his deadly arts. But his ſubſequent conduct effaced the injurious ſuſpicion; with paternal care he watched over the tender years of Lewis; nor is it probable that the man, whoſe ambition had ſought a crown through the death of ſo many, ſhould have heſitated to complete his crimes by extinguiſhing the life of a feeble infant. A. D. 1723.

On the death of the duke of Orleans, the reins of government were committed to the hands of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. A king young, indolent, and uninſtructed; a miniſter without talents or ambition, and a kingdom at peace, furniſhed but ſlender materials for the pen of the hiſtorian. In Spain, Philip the Fifth, who in purſuit of that throne had deluged Europe with blood, gave way to a ſettled melancholy. Devotion ſerved only to inflame him with the love of retirement, and he reſigned his crown to his eldeſt ſon Don Lewis. On the death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, he was prevailed on to reſume it: But indifferent to the cares of government, he abandoned himſelf to the aſcendancy of his conſort, the daughter of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; but who, with the iſland, had acquired the title of king of Sardinia. The late duke of Orleans had engaged the hand of A. D. 1723. 1725.

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the king of France to the Infanta of Spain; but though that princeſs had been received at Paris with the honours of a queen, the tender years of Lewis allowed him not to conſummate his marriage. As he advanced to maturity, the courtiers diſcovered through his natural indolence, and that politeneſs which he ever cultivated, a pointed averſion to the intended partner of his bed. The people, impatient of an union which might extinguiſh their hopes of male iſſue, and expoſe the kingdom, by a diſputed ſucceſſion, to the calamities of civil war, loudly murmured againſt the duke of Bourbon; the miniſter, though reluctantly, yielded to the general voice; he ſent back the infanta; and the queen of Spain, daring, violent, and implacable, would probably have reſented the inſult by open hoſtilities, had not her turbulent diſpoſition already engaged her in a diſpute with the empire.

A. D. 1726. This was the only political event that characterized the ſhort and languid adminiſtration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. The reins of govrnment ſoon after dropped from his hands into thoſe of cardinal Fleury: At the age of ſeventy-three, that prelate devoted the remains of a life which hitherto had challenged the public eſteem, to the ungrateful toils that attend miniſterial power; and at a period when the moſt ambitious ſeek repoſe, entered the liſts of fame. Yet he himſelf was diſtinguiſhed for his ſimplicity and modeſty, and with reluctance had expoſed his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court. He had been appointed in the former reign to the biſhopric of Frejus, a ſee in a diſtant and diſagreeable country; and he was ſo diſguſted with the ſituation that he ſoon after ſubſcribed a familiar letter, "Fleury, by the divine indignation, biſhop of Frejus." But in that ſtation he practiſed the ſame œconomy that he afterwards diſplayed in a more eminent condition; and though the ſee of Frejus, when he was nominated to it, was heavily burthened with debts, yet he reſigned it clear and

and unincumbered. The ſtate of his health was the pretence for his reſignation; and candour will excuſe the inoffenſive deceit that enabled him to relinquiſh a dignity ſo many anxiouſly ſought after: The ſolicitations of mareſchal Villeroy prevailed on the late king to appoint Fleury, by a codicil in his will, preceptor to his infant grandſon; and if we may believe the confidential letter of that prelate to cardinal Quirini, he undertook the important truſt with regret.

But though he unwillingly accepted the envied appointment, yet he diſcharged it with unimpeached fidelity and diligence. Above the intrigues of a court, he diſdained the cabals, which a minority foſter, and endeavoured to form the mind of his royal pupil to buſineſs, to ſecreſy, and to probity. The ſoil indeed but ill repaid his culture; yet the regent, licentious as he was, ſaw and approved the virtues which he neglected to imitate: The eſteem of the public was mingled with the regard of the prince; and his amiable and prudent diſpoſition excited the univerſal wiſh of France to ſee him at the head of affairs.

The gratitude of his pupil at length con- A. D.
curred with the voice of the people, and 1726, 1729.
cardinal Fleury, while he rejected the invidious title of prime miniſter, ruled the kingdom with abſolute authority. The adminiſtration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé had expired with diſſolving the marriage contract of Lewis, and reſtoring the infanta to Spain; that of Fleury commenced with providing a new alliance for his ſovereign.

Staniſlaus Leſczinſki had been raiſed to the throne of Poland by the victorious arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and experienced, after the defeat of Pultowa, the viciſſitudes which mark the ſingular life of that royal adventurer. The nobility of Poland had recognized their former ſovereign, Auguſtus, elector of Saxony, whom the Swediſh king had compelled to relinquiſh the crown, and to retire

within

within his electoral dominions. Staniſlaus deſcended from the throne with a mind ſuperior to fortune, and cultivated in private life the virtues which had diſtinguiſhed him in public. His daughter Mary ſtill retained the title of princeſs, and that lady was choſen by the cardinal to ſhare the bed of Lewis; their nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence: The new queen, deſtitute of perſonal charms, never perhaps inſpired with love the boſom of her conſort, who already began to indulge his taſte for variety; but her meekneſs, piety, and ready acquieſcence to his will, extorted his eſteem; and the birth of a dauphin, the fruits of their union, eſtabliſhed the peaceable ſucceſſion of the crown, and baniſhed the fears of the people.

A. D. 1729. 1732. The pacific diſpoſition of Fleury correſponded with the immediate welfare of France; he quietly left the kingdom to repair its loſſes, and enrich itſelf by an advantageous and extenſive commerce, without making any innovations; and treated the ſtate in his political ſyſtem like a ſtrong and robuſt body, which recovers by the vigour of its own conſtitution.

A. D. 1733. At length the death of Auguſtus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, rekindled throughout Europe the flames of war. The free ſuffrages of the Poles called Staniſlaus, the father-in-law of Lewis, to that throne from which he once already had deſcended with a magnanimity ſcarce to be equalled; But his election was oppoſed by the empire and the Ruſſians, who under the invigorating genius of Peter the Great, had lately emerged from obſcurity. That monarch had given laws, diſcipline and knowledge, to the immenſe deſerts of Muſcovy; had broken the power of the Swedes, which ſo long had overawed the North; and aſſumed in the balance of Europe that place which they had formerly occupied. His ſucceſſor now entered into a confederacy with the emperor to ſupport the nomination of the ſon of the late king to the crown of

of Poland; their numerous forces deluged that unhappy country; and Staniſlaus beſieged in Dantzic, eſcaped from the tottering walls of that city in diſguiſe, eluded the vigilance of his enemies, and, after a variety of dangers and adventures, reached the dominions of his ſon-in-law in ſafety.

A feeble attempt had been made by Fleury to ſuccour Dantzic; and fifteen hundred French, detached for that purpoſe, were overwhelmed by an hoſt of Ruſſians. Auguſtus the Third was eſtabliſhed on the throne of Poland by the united arms of Anne of Ruſſia and the emperor Charles the Sixth; the diſtance of the former was alone ſufficient to ſecure her from the reſentment of the French; but the dominions of the emperor were both acceſſible and vulnerable; and France prepared to avenge by arms the outrage that had diſpoſſeſſed Staniſlaus of Poland. Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, (for Victor Amadeus had reſigned his throne) concurred in the views of the courts of Madrid and Verſailles; the confederates poured their troops into Italy, and ſwept all reſiſtance before them; while France aſſerted her ſuperiority on the banks of the Rhine, and reduced Khiel, Trierbach, and Philipſburg. A. D. 1734, 1736.

The emperor bent before the ſtorm, and received the conditions of peace, which the victorious arms of France impoſed. Don Carlos, ſecond ſon to the king of Spain, was acknowledged as king of Naples and Sicily, both of which were diſmembered from the houſe of Auſtria; the king of Sardinia obtained, in the duchy of Milan, the Novareſe, the Tortoneſe, and the fiefs of Langes; to Francis, duke of Lorrain, was aſſigned the inheritance of the houſe of Medicis; and the duchies of Lorrain and Bar were ceded by the duke to the crown of France.

Staniſlaus, on whoſe account this war had been commenced, reſigned in the treaty his pretenſions to the kingdom of Poland, but was permitted to retain the title of king. The liberality of Lewis rendered

that dignity more reſpectable by beſtowing on his father-in-law, during his life, the duchies of Bar and Lorrain, which he had juſt acquired; after the death of Staniſlaus, theſe territories reverted to the crown, and were indiſſolubly united to the dominions of France.

A. D. 1737, 1739. The diſputes of Spain and England, reſpecting the trade of America, only feebly interrupted the tranquillity of Europe; and cardinal Fleury ſtill purſued in France that pacific ſyſtem to which he was ſo ſtrongly attached. Inſtead of arming the neighbouring potentates againſt each other, he inceſſantly laboured to extinguiſh their jealouſies, and reconcile their hoſtile diſpoſitions. He conciliated for a moment the Genoeſe and Corſicans, who had already plunged themſelves into the calamities of civil war; and his mediation was even accepted by the Ottoman Porte, which deſiſted from improving its advantages in Hungary, and at his powerful interceſſion granted peace to the diſtreſs of the emperor.

A. D. 1740. But this happineſs was not of long duration; the emperor Charles the Sixth, the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and his death awakened the pretenſions of the different princes of Europe. Maria Thereſa, the emperor's eldeſt daughter, married to Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuſcany, claimed by right of blood, and by the guarantee of the different powers of Europe, the whole of the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. This compriſed the kingdoms of Hungaria and Bohemia, the province of Sileſia, Auſtria, Swabia, Upper and Lower Auſtria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four foreſt towns, Burgaw, Briſgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

That princeſs, though ſhe was permitted peaceably to take poſſeſſion of this vaſt inheritance, was not without competitors. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria,

Bavaria, from the will of Ferdinand the First, brother to the emperor Charles the Fifth, asserted his right to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia resumed his claim on Milan; the kings of Spain and Poland urged their pretensions to the whole succession; nor was Lewis the Fifteenth destitute of a similar claim; he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses married to his ancestors, Lewis the Thirteenth and Lewis the Fourteenth; but he wished not to awaken the jealousy of Europe, and entertained hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by supporting the pretensions of another.

Yet Maria Theresa rather confided in, than was alarmed at, the number of the claimants; she had ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by voluntarily taking the ancient oath of their sovereigns, by which their subjects are allowed, if their privileges are invaded, to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels; and was engaged in traversing, in favour of her consort, the designs of France, that endeavoured to fix the imperial crown on the head of the elector of Bavaria, when she was surprised by the invasion of a new and unexpected pretender. The king of Prussia, Frederick the Third, laid claim to four duchies in Silesia; he suddenly entered that country, defeated the Austrians near Molwitz, and occupied the whole of the duchy. A. D. 1741.

The victory of Molwitz was the signal for war; cardinal Fleury, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, was indeed but little inclined to relinquish the pacific system that he adored; but he was overwhelmed by the impetuous eloquence and enterprising spirit of the brothers, the mareschal and chevalier de Belleisle. These represented to Lewis that the period was now arrived of finally breaking the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; and that so favourable an opportunity

never again would offer of raiſing the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. The aſſent of a monarch, whoſe vanity was great and diſcernment little, was eaſily obtained to this ſplendid project; and cardinal Fleury tottering on the brink of the grave, yet ſtill enamoured of power, conſented to ſanction with his name an enterpriſe he had never approved, and to preſide over a people whoſe councils he was not permitted to direct.

The count of Belleiſle negociated a treaty with the king of Pruſſia, by which the elector of Bavaria, with the imperial crown, was to poſſeſs Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the Tyroleſe; the king of Poland was to be gratified with Moravia and the Upper Sileſia; and Frederick was to retain Lower Sileſia, with the town of Neiſs, and the county of Glatz. To enforce theſe conditions, the French troops were immediately put in motion. Lewis appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the firſt rank among Chriſtian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the mareſchals Belleiſle and Broglio to act under him.

A. D. 1741, 1742. The ſucceſs of the French was rapid, ſplendid, and tranſient; the king of England was reduced to conclude a neutrality as elector of Hanover for his German dominions; the confederates ſurpriſed Paſſau, poſſeſſed themſelves of Lintz, and menaced Vienna. Maria Thereſa retired from her capital to Preſburgh in Hungary; and that generous people vowed to conquer or die in the ſervice of their ſovereign. New and formidable armies were in an inſtant ſupplied by their enthuſiaſtic loyalty; the French declined the dangerous neighbourhood of Vienna, directed their march into Bohemia, and in conjunction with the Saxons reduced the city of Prague: From that important acquiſition the elector of Bavaria purſued his route to Frankfort; and was there elected emperor, under the title of Charles the Seventh, and inveſted with the enſigns of imperial authority.

But

But from the moment that he attained this envied dignity, the hours of that prince were invariably devoted to calamity: Jealouſies already prevailed among the confederates; the French army was in its progreſs continually diminiſhed by ſickneſs or deſertion; George the Second, diſtinguiſhing between his capacity of king of Great-Britain and elector of Hanover, reſolved as the former to ſupport the queen of Hungary; and the very day that Charles was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort, he received intelligence that Lintz had been recovered by the Auſtrian general Khevenhuller, though defended by ten thouſand veteran troops of France.

Even this diſaſter was ſoon forgotten in an event more important and more fatal. The king of Pruſſia had penetrated into Moravia, but was compelled to retire before prince Charles of Lorrain; reinforced by the prince of Anhalt Deſſau, he ſuddenly turned on his purſuers. At Czaſlaw he engaged and defeated the Auſtrians; but with his uſual ſagacity, he ſeized the moment of victory to conclude an advantageous peace at Breſlaw, which left him in poſſeſſion of the Upper and Lower Sileſia, with the county of Glatz. At the ſame time a treaty was ſigned between the queen of Hungary and Auguſtus the Third, king of Poland, which transferred to the latter a conſiderable extent of country in the kingdom of Bohemia.

The French received with aſtoniſhment and diſmay the intelligence of the treaty of Breſlaw. Deſerted by their two moſt powerful allies, and preſſed by the ſuperior numbers of the Auſtrians, they retreated precipitately under the walls of Prague. A ſecond army, under mareſchal Maillebois, was detached to their aſſiſtance; but prince Charles had already occupied the paſſes of the intervening mountains: Mallebois was obliged to retreat; and the French in Prague were only ſaved from the diſgrace of ſurrendering by the ſkill and courage of mareſchal Belleiſle; who eluded the vigilance of the Auſtrians,

ſtrians, and though inceſſantly purſued by a ſuperior enemy, in the depth of winter ſucceſsfully conducted his army through a hoſtile country above ninety miles to the friendly walls of Egra.

Italy preſented to the contending powers, a campaign equally vigorous and diffuſed with that of Germany. Philip the Fifth, who had already eſtabliſhed one ſon on the throne of the two Sicilies, was deſirous of placing a crown on the head of Philip his ſon, by a ſecond marriage with Elizabeth Farneſe, daughter to the duke of Parma. Parma, Placentia, and the Milaneſe were the territories he aſpired to. The king of Sardinia, alarmed at the progreſs of the Houſe of Bourbon, had lately renounced his alliance with the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, and entered into engagements with the queen of Hungary, and the king of England; but the king of the two Sicilies, while he profeſſed himſelf neuter, ſecretly prepared to ſupport the ambitious deſigns of his family. From this intention he was diverted by the unwelcome appearance of an Engliſh ſquadron in the Bay of Naples; commodore Martin, to whom was entruſted the proud commiſſion of humbling the enemies of Great Britain, threatened to bombard Naples, unleſs he received a peremptory and ſatisfactory anſwer in the ſpace of an hour; and the king, to avert the deſtruction of his capital, engaged to preſerve a ſtrict neutrality during the courſe of the war.

A. D. 1743. The hoſtile armies, by the evacuation of Prague, were transferred from the banks of the Danube to thoſe of the Rhine; and cardinal Fleury, oppreſſed by increaſing years and the diſappointments of his country, cloſed a life that would have been terminated with more glory before the commencement of war. The king, on his deceaſe, determined to be his own miniſter, and to put himſelf at the head of the army. The king of England had already taken the field with forty thouſand Engliſh, Hanoverians, and Auſtrians. At the village of Dettingen, near the banks of the Mayne, he

was

was attacked by mareſchal Noailles. Had the French patiently occupied the neighbouring heights, the confederates muſt have ſurrendered at diſcretion; but their ardour precipitated them on the allies, and their temerity was chaſtiſed by a ſevere defeat. The king of England, inſtead of improving his advantage, proſecuted his march to Hanau; and the duke of Noailles, after collecting his ſcattered forces, haſtened to join mareſchal Coigny in Upper Alſace, who was threatened by prince Charles of Lorrain.

In Italy, a bloody but indecifive battle was fought at Campo Santo, between the Spaniards, commanded by count de Gages, and the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe, under count Traun: Yet though both claimed the honour of the field, the former thought it prudent ſoon after to repaſs the Pareno, and to take ſhelter in the eccleſiaſtical territories.

To diſtract the attention of the Engliſh, Lewis the Fifteenth reſolved to eſpouſe the fortunes of the exiled houſe of Stuart. Charles Edward, eldeſt ſon to the Chevalier de St. George, the grandſon of the unfortunate James the Second, had, on the firſt ſound of war, been invited into France. It was now propoſed to prove how far the affections of England ſtood inclined to him; an army of fifteen thouſand men was aſſembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; a number of tranſports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne; and Charles, to whom his father had delegated his pretenſions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. But an Engliſh ſquadron, under Sir John Norris, rode triumphant in the channel; and though the combined fleets of France and Spain maintained ſoon after, in the Mediterranean, a doubtful conflict with that of England, yet Lewis ventured not to encounter that people in their own ſeas; and the young pretender was obliged to wait a more favourable opportunity. A. D. 1744.

Lewis himſelf invaded Flanders; and ſeconded by the duke of Noailles, and count Saxe, natural ſon

ſon to Auguſtus the Second, king of Poland, and who by his military exploits revived the fame of Condé and Turenne, ſucceſſively reduced Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. From this ſcene of conqueſt he was ſoon recalled to the defence of his own dominions; prince Charles of Lorrain had paſſed the Rhine at the head of ſixty thouſand Auſtrians, had taken Weiſenburg, and laid all Lower Alſace under contribution. To repel this invaſion, mareſchal Noailles, was detached with forty thouſand choice troops; while mareſchal Saxe in Flanders, by his maſterly movements, baffled the deſigns of the allies, though far ſuperior in numbers.

With a conſiderable reinforcement, Lewis prepared to follow the ſteps of Noailles; but at Metz he was ſeized with a putrid fever that threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. His danger diffuſed conſternation throughout the kingdom; and the uncommon tranſports of joy with which his recovery was attended, touched the heart of the monarch himſelf; nor could he help exclaiming, "What a pleaſure is it to be thus beloved! "What have I done to deſerve it?"

But the king depended not alone on his own arms for the defence of Alſace; he had already negociated a new alliance with the king of Pruſſia; and Frederick, ſenſible that if the queen of Hungary ſhould again acquire the aſcendancy, the treaty of Breſlaw would prove a feeble barrier to her ambition, once more penetrated into Bohemia, and extended his ravages as far as Moldaw. Prince Charles repaſſed the Rhine, to check the progreſs of this formidable enemy; and Frederic, in his turn, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia with precipitation, and retire into Sileſia; while Lewis, availing himſelf of the retreat of the Auſtrians, inveſted and reduced Friburg.

The prince of Conti penetrated into Italy, and having effected a junction with Don Philip, whoſe aggrandizement firſt plunged Spain into the tumult of war, attacked the ſtrong poſt of Chateau Dauphin,

in, where the king of Sardinia commanded in perſon. It was carried after an obſtinate conflict, and the confederates immediately laid ſiege to Coni, the poſſeſſion of which was neceſſary to open them a paſſage into the Milaneſe. But though they obtained a ſecond victory over Charles Emanuel, diſeaſe pervaded the camp; they were compelled to retire from the inauſpicious walls, evacuate Piedmont, repaſs the Alps, and ſhelter the remnant of their way-worn followers in Dauphiné.

Amidſt the various viciſſitudes of war, the emperor Charles the Seventh was once more reſtored to his capital; but his ſituation, on the retreat of the Pruſſians, grew more precarious every hour. His frame was exhauſted by inceſſant anxiety, and death delivered him from again exhibiting to Europe the ſpectacle of imperial miſery. His ſon Maximilian Joſeph, a youth of ſeventeen, concluded, through the mediation of the king of Great Britain, a treaty with the queen of Hungary, which eſtabliſhed him in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the Electorate of Bavaria, and rejected the alliance which had proved ſo fatal to his father. A. D. 1745.

Lewis in vain tempted the ambition of Auguſtus, king of Poland, with the imperial crown; that monarch rejected the ſplendid allurement, and maintained his engagements with the queen of Hungary and the king of England; and the court of Verſailles had ſoon after the mortification of beholding Francis of Lorrain, the conſort of the former, inveſted with the imperial dignity at Frankfort. Yet France ſtill obſtinately purſued the war; and her monarch, accompanied by the dauphin, in Flanders animated his forces by his preſence: Commanded by count Saxe, they laid ſiege to Tournay, one of the ſtrongeſt towns in the Auſtrian Netherlands. The Engliſh, the Dutch, and the Auſtrians, under the duke of Cumberland, ſecond ſon to the king of England, advanced to the relief of that place: The plains of Fontenoy were rendered memorable by the bloody and obſtinate

conflict.

conflict. At length the allies were broken by the numbers of their enemies and the ſuperior ſkill of Count Saxe; they retreated with conſiderable loſs, occupied ſoon after a ſtrong camp between Bruſſels and Antwerp, and remained inactive during the reſt of the campaign; while the French reduced by ſtratagem or force Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Oſtend, Nieuport, and the principal fortified places throughout Auſtrian Flanders.

The ſucceſs of the houſe of Bourbon in Italy was equally rapid; Don Philip and mareſchal Maillebois preſſed with their ſuperior forces the king of Sardinia and Schulenberg. Charles Emanuel retired behind the Po, and even trembled for the fate of his capital; while the kindred armies of France and Spain deluged all Italy; and Don Carlos cloſed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan.

Nor were the operations of the king of Pruſſia leſs brilliant or deciſive. In Sileſia and Bohemia he ſucceſſively defeated prince Charles of Lorrain; and from the victories of Fridbourg and Slandentz, poured the torrent of his arms into Saxony. He ſoon made himſelf maſter of Dreſden; and the king of Poland, anxious for the capital of his electoral dominions, purchaſed peace from the victor by the payment of a million of German crowns. It was the intention of Frederick to protect, but not to aggrandize the houſe of Bourbon; he had no longer any thing to dread from the Auſtrian power, and he concluded a ſecond treaty with the queen of Hungary, which confirmed that of Breſlaw, and guaranti-ed to him the poſſeſſion of Sileſia, on acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election.

France was aſtoniſhed at the repeated deſertion of ſo powerful an ally; but Lewis was encouraged to perſevere by a new enterpriſe, which at firſt promiſ-ed the moſt deciſive advantage. Though the ſquadrons of France could not hope to elude the vigilance of the naval commanders of Great Britain, yet the young pretender ſucceſsfully traverſing the ſeas

in

in a ſingle veſſel, landed with a few adherents on the coaſt of Scotland. The inhabitants of that kingdom had ever been attached to the family of Stuart; and no ſooner was the ſtandard of Charles erected, than it was joined by ſome thouſands of hardy and ferocious mountaineers. He occupied Edinburgh, was ſolemnly proclaimed there with all the forms of legal authority, and ſoon after defeated the royal forces at Preſton Pans. The road now lay open to London; and George, though inſenſible of perſonal fear, trembled for his capital. But the Pretender was intoxicated with ſucceſs; he returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty, while the Britiſh troops were recalled from Flanders, and a new and formidable army was formed by the zeal of the royaliſts. It was entruſted to the duke of Cumberland, the ſecond ſon of George, and who had commanded in the diſaſtrous field of Fontenoy. The Pretender, who had at length quitted the pleaſures of Edinburgh and penetrated as far as Derby, within an hundred and twenty miles of London, now retired before the veteran forces of the duke. An ineffectual victory which he afterwards obained over a detachment of the royaliſts at Falkirk near Stirling, ſerved only to embitter his ſubſequent defeat. On Culloden Moor, at the head of his brave but diſorderly followers, he preſumed to encounter the ſuperior forces of the royaliſts, whoſe valour was confirmed by diſcipline, and who were animated by the gallantry of the duke of Cumberland. The deciſion of the day was ſuch as might have been expected; the rebels were repulſed, and purſued with cruel ſlaughter; and after enduring a ſeries of incredible hardſhips for five months, and repeatedly eluding the active reſentment of his enemies, the Pretender himſelf eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel to France; but the ſcaffold was ſtained with the blood of his principal adherents, and his party in this fatal enterpriſe was for ever extinguiſhed.

To

A. D 1746. To balance this diſappointment, Lewis opened the campaign in Flanders at the head of one hundred and twenty thouſand men; inveſted and reduced Bruſſels, the capital of Brabant; took Mons and Charleroy; and rendered himſelf maſter of Flanders, Brabant, and Liege. He ſoon after laid ſiege to Namur; and that city, ſituated on the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuſe, and defended by a garriſon of nine thouſand men, was obliged to ſurrender. The confederates, though commanded by prince Charles of Lorrain, were diſconcerted and ſoon after defeated by the ſuperior addreſs of mareſchal Saxe; and this victory, which the advanced ſeaſon of the year prevented the mareſchal from improving, terminated the campaign in the Low Countries.

In Italy the Houſe of Bourbon was leſs ſucceſsful; Aſti, though garriſoned by five thouſand French, was ſurpriſed by the king of Sardinia; Don Philip and Maillebois were repulſed in an obſtinate attack on the Auſtrian camp at St. Lazaro; and this diſaſter was ſucceeded by the intelligence that Philip the Fifth was no more. That prince, the firſt of the Houſe of Bourbon who ſat upon the Spaniſh throne, was governed by two women, who ſucceſſively ſhared his bed, and ruled his kingdom with abſolute ſway: The latter maintained her aſcendancy even after the death of her conſort; and under the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth, ſtill continued to direct the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, informed of the death of Philip the Fifth, and ſtill ignorant of the ſentiments of his ſucceſſor, retired before the Auſtrian army, and took ſhelter under the cannon of Genoa; they ſoon after abandoned this ſituation, and Don Philip retreated towards Savoy, while mareſchal Maillebois repoſed his haraſſed forces in Provence. The Auſtrians immediately occupied Genoa; and that proud city was ſubjected to the moſt humiliating conditions. But the arrogance and rapacity of general

general Botta at length excited the general indignation of the inhabitants; they roſe in arms againſt their conquerors; deſpair animated their efforts; and the veterans of Germany were obliged to yield to the fury of a crowd of undiſciplined citizens. After an ineffectual ſtruggle they evacuated the city; and the Genoeſe, conſcious that they were ſtill ſurrounded by their oppreſſors, prepared by every prudent precaution to fortify in future their freedom.

In the Eaſt Indies the honour of the French flag was aſſerted by La Bourdonnais, who diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of their ſettlement of Madraſs, on the coaſt of Coromandel; but it was in the Netherlands that Lewis prepared to make the moſt vigorous efforts. An army of one hundred and fifty thouſand men was aſſembled under mareſchal Saxe; and that celebrated commander detached count Lowendahl with twenty-ſeven thouſand men to invade Dutch Brabant. The French miniſter at the ſame time preſented a memorial to the States, declaring that his maſter by thus entering the territories of the States, meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection that they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England. In the mean time Lowendahl made himſelf maſter of Sluys, Sandberg, and Hulſt; and having taken poſſeſſion of Axtel and Terneuſe, was meditating a deſcent on Zealand, when a Britiſh ſquadron defeated his purpoſe, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat neceſſary. A. D. 1747.

Struck with conſternation at the progreſs of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces, believing themſelves betrayed, tumultuouſly roſe againſt the miniſters of the Republic, and compelled the magiſtrates to declare the prince of Orange Stadtholder; a dignity which had been laid aſide ſince the death of William the Third. The beneficial effects of this revolution to the confederates ſoon appeared in ſeveral vigorous meaſures; and inſtant orders were given by the States for commencing hoſtilities

ſtilities againſt France both by ſea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

Lewis himſelf ſoon after joined his army in Flanders, and the ſiege of Maeſtricht was reſolved on. The confederates, to preſerve that city, determined to hazard a general engagement; the village of Val or Laffeldt was the object of their mutual efforts: But though the Engliſh were compelled to abandon the field with loſs, yet the duke of Cumberland in his retreat reinforced the garriſon of Maeſtricht; and mareſchal Saxe, after amuſing the allies with a variety of complicated movements, detached count Lowendahl with thirty thouſand men to inveſt Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification in Dutch Brabant.

This experienced general and great maſter in the art of reducing fortified places, now encountered in the favourite work of Vauban an object worthy his ſkill. The town was garriſoned with three thouſand men, and could be reinforced on the ſhorteſt notice by a conſiderable army of the allies, which took poſſeſſion of the lines belonging to the fortification. The eyes of Europe were fixed on the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom; each inſtrument of deſtruction was inceſſantly employed on both ſides; the town was reduced to aſhes; the trenches were filled with carnage; yet the out-works were in a great meaſure entire, and the event of the enterpriſe ſeemed ſtill doubtful; when count Lowendahl demonſtrated that there are occaſions when it is neceſſary to go beyond the eſtabliſhed rules of art.

That general reſolved to attempt by a coup-de-main thoſe works which ſtill reſiſted his regular approaches. The attack was made in the middle of the night, and at three places at once. The beſieged, arouſed from their ſecurity, in vain endeavoured to repel the aſſailants; the French grenadiers were already in the town; two regiments of Swiſs and Scotch, who had aſſembled in the market-place, ſtill diſputed the day, and were cut to pieces; the reſt, with the governor, retired to the lines: The army that

that had occupied thoſe, immediately retreated; and the French became maſters of the whole navigation of the Scheld.

Lewis on the intelligence of this event, raiſed Lowendahl to the dignity of mareſchal, and returned in triumph to Verſailles. But the ſatisfaction which attended his acquiſitions in Flanders was alloyed by a ſeries of unfortunate events. Mareſchal Belleiſle had aſſumed the command in Italy, and had detached his brother the chevalier with thirty thouſand men, to penetrate into Piedmont. On the road to Exilles twenty-one battalions of Piedmonteſe, ſecured by ramparts of ſtone and wood, and defended by a formidable artillery, oppoſed his progreſs. Belleiſle, daring and emulous of fame, attacked the entrenchments with the greateſt intrepidity; in three ſucceſſive aſſaults he was repulſed, yet he ſtill returned to the charge; and the moment that he had planted with his own hand the colours of his king on the hoſtile battlements, he fell dead, having received the thruſt of a bayonet, and two muſquet balls in his body. The ſurvivors, diſcouraged by his death, immediately retreated; and ſo certain was the deſtructive aim of the Piedmonteſe, and the obſtinacy of the aſſailants, that the number of the ſlain more than doubled that of the wounded.

Mareſchal Belleiſle was no ſooner informed of the fate of his brother than he retreated towards the Var, to join the unfortunate army from Exilles; and the king of Sardinia was only prevented by the unfavourable ſeaſon and heavy rains, from carrying his victorious arms into Dauphiné. But the moſt fatal blow to France was the total deſtruction of her marine; the Engliſh began at length to exert themſelves on that element, on which they have ſo repeatedly triumphed. The marquis de le Jonquiere with ſix ſhips of the line and as many frigates, was intercepted by the admirals Anſon and Warren with fourteen ſail of the line: The French defended themſelves with conduct and courage; but they were oppreſſed by

by numbers, and ten ſhips of war were taken. On the coaſt of Brittany Monſieur l'Eſtendeure diſplayed ſimilar gallantry with the ſame ill fortune; with ſeven ſhips of the line he was attacked by admiral Hawke, who commanded fourteen; and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, ſix of thoſe ſhips became the prey of the Engliſh victors.

In America the Engliſh had conquered Cape Breton and reduced Louiſburgh; and the king of France, while he beheld his marine annihilated and his commerce extinguiſhed, was alarmed by the menacing countenance of a new and formidable enemy. The gold of England had influenced the councils of Peterſburgh, and fifty thouſand Ruſſians prepared to add new horror to the rage of war. In the midſt of his victories the king of France had invariably expreſſed his wiſhes for peace, and the ſtorm that threatened from the north rendered him ſtill more impatient to deliver his ſubjects from the calamities of war: An ineffectual congreſs had been held at Breda, and negociations were this year reſumed at Aix la Chapelle with better ſucceſs.

A. D. 1748. To enforce his propoſal, Lewis commanded mareſchal Saxe, with a numerous army, to inveſt Maeſtricht. The danger of that city quickened the deliberations of the allies: The French had already effected a lodgment in the covered way with conſiderable loſs; but they were expelled by the gallantry of the beſieged, and mareſchal Saxe had reaſon to tremble for his reputation; when intelligence arrived that the preliminaries of peace were ſigned, and the French were permitted to take poſſeſſion of Maeſtricht, on condition that they reſtored it, with all its magazines and artillery, on the concluſion of the treaty.

By the peace of Aix la Chapelle, a mutual reſtitution was ſtipulated of all conqueſts made during the courſe of the war, with a releaſe of priſoners without ranſom. Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla were ceded as a ſovereignty to Don Philip; but it was provided,

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in caſe he or his deſcendents ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, that thoſe territories ſhould return to the preſent poſſeſſors, the empreſs queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia. The Engliſh acquired the privilege of ſending an annual ſhip to the Spaniſh ſettlements in America; and the contracting powers guarantied to his Pruſſian majeſty the duchy of Sileſia and the county of Glatz, as he then poſſeſſed them.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Differences between the clergy and the parliament.—Bull unigenitus.*—The parliament baniſhed—Recalled, and received with the acclamations of the Pariſians—War in the Eaſt-Indies—In America—War with England—between Pruſſia and the Empire—Minorca taken—Parliament ſuſpended—Life of the king attempted—Parliament reſtored—Succeſs of the French in Hanover—France defeated in Europe—In the Eaſt Indies—In America—In Africa—Loſſes at ſea—Negociations for peace—Peace concluded.*

THE war which had ſo long afflicted Europe, was ſucceeded by ſeven years peace; and that ſhort interval may be conſidered as the moſt proſperous and happy period that Europe had ever known: Arts and letters were ſucceſsfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flouriſhed; and the manners of ſociety aſſumed each day a higher poliſh. But monarchs, while they aſpire to the fame of conquerors, ſeldom condeſcend to regard the felicity of their ſubjects; and Lewis, who had only conſented to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to reſtore his navy, in the arms of the marchioneſs of Pompadour meditated new wars, and prepared to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of their principal ſettlements both in America and the Eaſt Indies. A. D. 1748. 1749.

From theſe viſionary hopes the attention of the king was recalled by violent diſputes between the clergy and parliaments of France, which partially

interrupted the tranquillity of that kingdom. The famous controverſy between the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abſtract points of theology, had originated in the preceding reign: The opinions of the former had been declared heretical by the court of Rome, in the celebrated bull commonly known by the name UNIGENITUS. The reception of it was enforced by Lewis the fourteenth, in oppoſition to the body of the people, the parliaments, the archbiſhop of Paris, and fifteen other prelates; who proteſted againſt it as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an inſult on their private opinions. The duke of Orleans, while regent, extinguiſhed a perſecution which had been raiſed againſt thoſe who had rejected the bull; but at the ſame time prevailed on the biſhops, who had hitherto oppoſed, to ſubmit to it.

A. D. 1730. 1751. Though the bull Unigenitus was held in execration by the people, it had hitherto occaſioned no public diſturbance; but on the concluſion of the peace, an attempt made by a miniſter of the finances to enquire into the wealth of the clergy, raiſed the jealouſy of that order, and they determined to divert the attention of the court by reviving the former oppoſition to the bull Unigenitus. It was reſolved by the clergy to demand confeſſional notes of dying perſons; that thoſe notes ſhould be ſigned by prieſts adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, or extreme unction could be obtained. The new archbiſhop of Paris engaged warmly in this ſcheme, and he was oppoſed with equal vigour by the parliament, who impriſoned ſuch of the clergy as refuſed to adminiſter the ſacraments to perſons in their laſt moments. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and a war was immediately kindled between the ſecular juriſdiction and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline.

A. D. 1752, 1753. The king, by an act of his abſolute authority, forbade the parliaments to take cognizance of eccleſiaſtical proceedings, and to ſuſ-

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pend all proſecutions relative to the refuſal of the ſacraments. Inſtead of acquieſcing, the parliament preſented new remonſtrances, refuſed to attend to any other buſineſs, and came to a reſolution that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. They cited the biſhop of Orleans before their tribunal, and ordered all writings, in which its juriſdiction was conteſted, to be burnt by the executioner: By military aid, they enforced the adminiſtration of the ſacraments to the ſick; and engroſſed by theſe religious differences, they entirely ceaſed, as ſupreme courts, to diſtribute that juſtice to the ſubject for which they had been erected.

Their obſtinacy excited the indignation A. D. 1753. of their ſovereign; four of the members, 1754. who had delivered themſelves with the greateſt freedom, were arreſted and impriſoned; and the remainder were baniſhed to Bourges, to Poictiers, and Auvergne; and Lewis, to prevent their abſence from impeding the adminiſtration of juſtice, eſtabliſhed by his letters patent a *Royal Chamber*, for the proſecution of ſuits civil and criminal. But the counſellors, animated by the ſame zeal as the parliament, refuſed to plead before theſe new judges; and the people, left to themſelves, threatened to fall every day into anarchy and confuſion. The intrigues of the court had already excited hoſtilities in America and the Eaſt Indies; and Lewis, intent on war with England, determined to conciliate the affections of his people by recalling the parliament. The members re-entered Paris amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the archbiſhop, who continued to encourage the prieſts in refuſing the ſacraments, was baniſhed to his ſeat at Conflans; a ſimilar exile was preſcribed to the biſhops of Orleans and Troyes, and a tranſient calm was reſtored to the kingdom.

For the ſource of this unexpected re- A. D. 1748. volution we muſt turn our eyes to the 1753. diſtant continents of Aſia and America. From the moment that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was con-

cluded, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, on the coaſt of Coromandel, a man active, intelligent, and enterpriſing, conceived the deſign of advancing the intereſt of the French Eaſt India Company, by acquiring for France large territorial poſſeſſions in the ſouth of Aſia. The feeble ſucceſſors of Aurengzebe, who had ſuffered the native governors of the different provinces to aſſume the authority of independent princes, encouraged by their weakneſs the daring project of this aſpiring adventurer: The French troops which had been aſſembled during the late war to protect Pondicherry from the Engliſh, were now engaged in the various ſervices of the different viceroys of India; their ſuperior arms and diſcipline triumphed over a tumultuous multitude, always without ſkill, and frequently without courage; whatever ſide they inclined to, victory was ſure to follow; and the SUBAH, or viceroy of the Decan, whoſe authority they had eſtabliſhed over the immenſe tract of country that ſtretches from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, rewarded the intrepidity of his protectors by the moſt liberal conceſſions.

The progreſs of the French had awakened the jealouſy of the ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt India company. The attempt of Mr. Dupleix to impoſe a NABOB or governor on Arcot, a province in which Pondicherry is ſituated, excited the Engliſh to arms. As the allies of the princes of India, the rival nations oppoſed each other with equal courage and ſkill, and ſeveral battles were fought with various ſucceſs; at length the tide of war was turned by the appearance of a great and diſtinguiſhed military character. Mr. Clive had gone out in the ſervice of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company as a writer: His aſpiring mind was but ill calculated for this calm and peaceable ſtation; he exchanged the pen for the ſword, and immortaliſed his name by a ſeries of rapid and ſucceſſive victories. With a ſmall band he occupied Arcot, the capital of the diſputed province; repelled a numerous army of the French and Indians, who threatened to overwhelm him; and tri-

umphed, in a deciſive battle, over the hoſt that had lately beſieged him. In the neighbourhood of Tritchinopoli the French and their allies were finally defeated; the pretenſions of Chunda-ſaib, whoſe cauſe they had eſpouſed, were extinguiſhed in his blood; and his rival, Mohammed Ali, was eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh on the throne of Arcot.

Mr. Dupleix was ſoon after recalled, and a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon by the hoſtile powers; but while Lewis revolved the means of reſtoring in India the aſcendancy of his ſubjects, his ambitious hopes were flattered by the inſidious and hoſtile enterpriſes of his governors in North America. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, their two extenſive colonies of Canada and Louiſiana; and to confine the Engliſh to that tract of country that lies between the ſea and the Apalachian mountains, which run from one end of North America to another. In conſequence of this, France would have enjoyed in time of peace the whole Indian trade; and the Britiſh ſettlers, continually expoſed to the incurſions of the faithleſs and ferocious ſavages, muſt have ſoon been finally extinguiſhed. This project was purſued with ardour and jndgment; forts were erected along the great lakes, which communicate with the river St. Laurence, and alſo on the Ohio, and the Miſſiſſippi; and the chain was almoſt compleated, when England, alarmed at theſe rapid encroachments, after repeated and ineffectual expoſtulations, determined to unſheath the ſword. A. D. 1750. 1754.

This meaſure was no ſooner reſolved on than it was executed with equal vigour, and promptitude; a formidable ſquadron was detached to the banks of Newfoundland, to attack the fleet of France; and though a friendly fog enabled the greateſt part to eſcape the ſuperior force of England, yet two ſhips of the line were taken; the Britiſh cruizers ſwept the ſeas with ſuch ſucceſs, that above three hundred trading veſſels belonging to France were carried into the ports of Great Britain; A. D. 1755.

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and above eight thouſand ſeamen became priſoners to that crown.

Lewis, aſtoniſhed and ſtunned by this unexpected ſtroke, filled every court in Europe with complaints and negociations. His naval ſtrength was already fatally impaired; but from the infinite ſuperiority of his land forces, he ſtill flattered himſelf with the hopes of the moſt decided advantages. General Braddock who had been entruſted by the Engliſh with the chief command in America, had been allured by the French and Indians into an ambuſcade; and ſcorning to ſurvive a defeat, the effect of his own imprudence, had in the grave found ſhelter from the reproaches of his country. On the banks of Lake George, Dieſkau, who commanded the French forces in America, with a detachment of two thouſand men, was expoſed to a ſimilar fate. Yet France ſtill maintained on that continent her aſcendancy, and England was reduced to wage a feeble and defenſive war.

A. D. 1756. Though George the Second, as king of Great Britain, while he retained the ſovereignty of the ſeas, might deſpiſe the menaces of France; yet as elector of Hanover he was ſtill vulnerable in his German dominions; and Lewis, to avail himſelf of this advantage, entered into cloſe and ſecret connections with the courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden. The former ſtill harboured a lively reſentment of the ceſſion of Sileſia; and the diviſion of the dominions of the houſe of Brandenburg, and the invaſion of Hanover, were the objects of this formidable confederacy.

But the deſigns of the Confederates could not elude the vigilance and penetration of Frederic; conſcious of his danger, he formed an alliance with the king of England, whoſe intereſts and apprehenſions were ſimilar to his own. Before the deſigns of his enemies were ripe for execution, the Pruſſian monarch anticipated their hoſtile efforts, burſt into Saxony, defeated the Auſtrians at Lowoſitz, compelled Auguſtus with his whole army to ſurrender, occupied

occupied Dreſden, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtate papers relative to foreign tranſactions, which diſplayed to the world the conſpiracy that had been formed againſt him.

While the king of Pruſſia drained the proſtrate territories of Saxony, and Great Britain, governed by miniſters whom ſhe hated and deſpiſed, indulged her diſhonourable fears, and called to her defence large bands of ſubſidiary Germans, Lewis aſſumed new vigour, and prepared to improve the favourable moments of enterpriſe. Numerous bodies of troops drawn towards the ſea-coaſts, continually alarmed the oppoſite ſhores of England; their hoſtile appearance ſerved to cover the ſecret intentions of the French, who aſpired to the conqueſt of Minorca, an iſland in the Mediterranean, which the Engliſh had formerly wreſted from Spain.

The armament for that purpoſe conſiſted of fifteen thouſand land forces, commanded by the mareſchal duke of Richelieu; and twelve ſhips of the line, with five frigates, under the marquis Galiſſoniere: They reached Minorca with a proſperous wind; the troops were diſembarked, and immediately inveſted the caſtle of St. Philip's, which commands the town and harbour of Mahon. The Engliſh had detached Byng to the relief of the iſland, with a ſquadron equal to that of France; Galiſſoniere ſoon after engaged the Britiſh admiral in an indeciſive action. The former returned to block up the port of Mahon; the latter withdrew to Gibraltar; and on his recal to England, expiated with his life the ſtain which his puſillanimity had fixed on the naval glory of his country: While the garriſon of Fort St. Philip, deſtitute of hope, ſurrendered after a ſiege of nine weeks; and the iſland of Minorca ſubmitted to the dominion of France.

The ſatisfaction which Lewis reaped A. D. 1756.
from this acquiſition was alloyed by do- 1757.
meſtic diſſenſions. The parliament, by their imprudent perſecution of the partizans of the bull Unigenitus, awakened again the indignation of their ſove-

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reign: With an honourable, though perhaps injudicious zeal, they had alſo, in the midſt of a bloody war, refuſed to regiſter certain taxes, which they conſidered as oppreſſive to the people. Lewis, attended by his guards, appeared in the aſſembly; he ſuppreſſed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inqueſts, the members of which had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firm and animated oppoſition; he commanded the bull Unigenitus to be reſpected; and prohibited the ſecular judges from ordering the adminiſtration of the ſacraments. Fifteen counſellors of the Great Chamber lodged their reſignation at the office next day; one hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their example; and the people, who participated in the ſufferings of the champions of their religious freedom, diſplayed their diſcontent in loud and impatient murmurs.

A. D. 1757. Their clamours, moſt probably, would have been little reſpected by a monarch, who early nurſed in deſpotiſm, conſidered the will of the ſovereign as the ſole rule for the actions of his ſubjects. But Lewis was ſoon taught that the affections of his people were the beſt guards to his throne; and that in the plenitude of his power, he ſtill was expoſed to the rage of gloomy fanaticiſm. Francis Damien, an unhappy wretch, whoſe ſullen mind, naturally unſettled, was inflamed by the diſputes between the king and his parliament relative to religon, embraced the deſperate reſolution of attempting the life of his ſovereign. In the duſk of the evening, as the king prepared to enter his coach, he was ſuddenly wounded, though ſlightly, between the ribs, in the preſence of his ſon, and in the midſt of his guards. The daring aſſaſſin had mingled with the crowd of courtiers, and was inſtantly betrayed by his diſtracted countenance. He declared it never was his intention to kill the king; but that he only meant to wound him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to reſtore the tranquillity of his dominions, by re-eſtabliſhing the parliament, and baniſhing

niſhing the archbiſhop of Paris, whom he regarded as the ſource of the preſent commotions. In theſe frantic and incoherent declarations he perſiſted amidſt the moſt exquiſite tortures; and after human ingenuity had been exhauſted in deviſing new modes of torment, his judges, tired out with his obſtinacy, conſigned him to a death, the inhumanity of which is increaſed by the evident madneſs that ſtimulated him to the fatal attempt.

But whether the mind of Lewis was deeply impreſſed by his late danger, or that he dreaded in the midſt of a bloody and extenſive war to alienate the hearts of his people, it is certain that he a ſecond time baniſhed the archbiſhop of Paris, who had been recalled, and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to buſineſs.

In reſpect to foreign engagements, the councils of France were not influenced by the late attempt on the life of the king; and Lewis ſtill perſevered in his reſolution of attacking the electoral dominions of the king of England. Mareſchal Saxe, the ſource of ſo many victories to France, was now no more; and mareſchal d'Etrees was appointed to the command of an army which conſiſted of eighty thouſand men. He paſſed the Rhine, compelled the duke of Cumberland (who at the head of about forty thouſand Heſſians, Hanoverians, and Pruſſians, watched his motions, and in feeble ſkirmiſhes endeavoured to retard his progreſs) to retire behind the Weſer; he effected the paſſage of that river, drove the duke from an advantageous poſt in the village of Haſtenbach, and amidſt his triumphant career was recalled by the imprudent partiality of his ſovereign.

The mareſchal duke of Richelieu, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aſpired to unite with the character of an inſinuating courtier the reputation of a conſummate general. Lewis could not long reſiſt the ſolicitations of his favourite, and Richelieu was appointed to the chief command in Germany. The duke of Cumberland, puſhed from poſt to poſt, at length

length took refuge under the cannon of Stade. Surrounded on every ſide, he was there reduced to the neceſſity of ſigning the ſingular convention of Cloſter-ſeven, by which an army of thirty-eight thouſand Hanoverians, Heſſians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majeſty, was diſſolved, and diſtributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being diſarmed, or conſidered as priſoners of war. The French were left, till the definitive reconciliation of the two ſovereigns, in full poſſeſſion of the countries they had conquered; though under the expreſs condition of abſtaining from future violences, hoſtilities being immediately to ceaſe on both ſides.

With the capitulation of Cloſter-ſeven the fortune of France expired; and an event which promiſed the moſt brilliant advantages, was ſucceeded by five years of continual defeat and inceſſant calamity. To deſcribe the different actions of a war, wide, bloody, and recent, would exceed the limits preſcribed to the work before us; and the reader perhaps will not be diſpleaſed, if, abandoning the order we have hitherto purſued, we place before him a ſlight ſketch of the principal occurrences during that period in the different quarters of the world.

In Europe, the king of Pruſſia, driven out of Bohemia, and menaced by the hoſtile armies of Sweden, Ruſſia, and Auſtria, was now deſerted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependance; and beheld the forces of France ready to penetrate into Saxony. Prince Soubiſe with twenty thouſand French had joined the imperial ſtandard; and Frederic ſaw the neceſſity of giving battle to the combined army, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand French and Imperialiſts, with leſs than half its number. But the preſumption of prince Soubiſe decided the fate of the day; he advanced without caution or order, as to a certain victory; his temerity was chaſtiſed by a bloody defeat; and Frederic from the triumphant field of Roſbach directing his march towards Sileſia, arrived in time to join the prince of Bevern, and to renew his laurels by a ſecond victory over the Auſtrians at Liſſa.

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In Hanover, the rapacity of the duke of Richelieu exhauſted the ſubjected country. A demand from the court of France of the arms of thoſe troops who had capitulated at Cloſter-ſeven, arouſed their indignation: They conſidered this as the laſt diſgrace of ſoldiers; and ſecretly reſolving to ſecure their country from oppreſſion, they aſſembled from their different cantonments under prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom his Britannic majeſty had inveſted with the chief command of his electoral forces. The French, diſperſed and unprepared, were ſucceſſively expelled from Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden; four thouſand were taken priſoners in the city of Minden; and the duke of Richelieu, better calculated to ſhine in courts than camps, with the wretched remnant of his once victorious army, repaſſed with difficulty the Rhine, before a body of men whom he had ſo lately vanquiſhed and trampled upon.

While the gallant Frederic maintained A. D. 1758. the war with various ſucceſs, and alter- 1762. nately afflicted the dominions of his adverſaries, or beheld his own capital inſulted by their preſence, the French were doomed to number their campaigns by ſucceſſive defeats. At Crevelt, count Clermont, at the head of fifty thouſand men, was attacked and broken by prince Ferdinand, and compelled with conſiderable loſs to retire under the cannon of Cologne. Mareſchal de Contades, who ſucceeded him, ſuffered in the enſuing campaign a more deciſive defeat at Minden; and mareſchal Broglio, who ſuperceded Contades, was equally unfortunate, and on the heights of Warbourg ſunk beneath the ſuperior genius of prince Ferdinand. The death of George the Second, and the acceſſion of his grandſon George the Third to the throne of England, changed not, at firſt, the councils of the Engliſh or the fortune of the French; and the court of Verſailles, preſſed on every ſide, implored the ſupport of the kindred crown of Spain. That kingdom was ruled by Charles the Third, late king of Naples and Sicily, and the ſon of Philip the Fifth. His elder brother, Ferdinand the Sixth, had

had invariably diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his pacific diſpoſition, and reſiſted the intrigues of France: But the preſent monarch, more ambitious, or more attached to the houſe of Bourbon, ſigned the celebrated Family Compact; an alliance which, with the ſingle exception of the American trade, naturalizes, in the dominions of the houſe of Bourbon, the ſubjects of each crown; and ſtipulates that the kings of France and Spain ſhall look upon every power as their enemy, which becomes the enemy of either.

Yet the aſſiſtance of Spain was feeble and inadequate; her attempt to wound Great Britain through her ally, and to invade the neutral kingdom of Portugal, was ill concerted and worſe executed, and the Spaniards were compelled to abandon their haſty conqueſts with diſgrace. Lewis was ſtill doomed to regret the unavailing ſlaughter of his ſubjects; and mareſchal Broglio, near the village of Kirch Denkern, was repulſed by prince Ferdinand with the loſs of five thouſand men. France had indeed hitherto repelled the deſultory deſcents of the Engliſh on her coaſts; but her pride was deeply wounded by a loſs, leſs important in its real value than humiliating in the eyes of Europe. Belleiſle, an iſland of about twelve leagues in circumference, and ſituated between Port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, was reduced by an armament from England; and the Britiſh banners diſplayed from Palais, inſulted and alarmed the inhabitants of the adjacent coaſts. The recal of Broglio from the German army, with the joint appointment of the prince of Soubiſe and Marſhal d'Etrees, interruped not the rapid and triumphant career of prince Ferdinand. The French were compelled entirely to evacuate the electorate of Hanover; and in the landgraviate of Heſſe they now occupied Ziegenhayn alone: While the king of Pruſſia, by the death of the empreſs of Ruſſia, was delivered from his moſt formidable and implacable enemy.

A. D. 1757. In Aſia, the war, which had been ſcarce
1762 ſuſpended by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, was revived with increaſe of fury, and with the

the moſt diſaſtrous conſequences to France; her ſettlement of Chandernagore, on the banks of the Ganges, was taken by Admiral Watſon and colonel Clive; General Lally was compelled to retire from a fruitleſs attempt againſt the walls of Madraſs; he was afterwards defeated in ſucceſſive engagements, and reduced to ſeek ſhelter within the fortifications of Pondicherry: That ſettlement, the laſt that remained of any conſequence to the French on the coaſt of Coromandel, was inveſted by the Engliſh. After a gallant defence, Lally was obliged by famine to ſurrender: His obſtinacy and violence rejected thoſe terms of capitulation which he might have obtained; and the victors, informed ſoon after of the hoſtile confederacy of the houſe of Bourbon, turned their arms againſt the ſettlements of Spain, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Manilla, the capital of Luconia, one of the principal of the Philippine iſlands.

In America, Louiſburg, garriſoned by near three thouſand troops, under the command of the chevalier du Drucourt, was attacked by admiral Boſcawen, and the generals Amherſt and Wolfe: For ſix weeks the governor maintained a gallant defence; he was at length compelled to ſurrender priſoner with his whole garriſon, and the iſland of Cape Breton ſhared the fate of the capital. The conqueror next directed his attention to the continent, and ſwept away in his progreſs the forts of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Niagara. But in Canada the force of the French was ſtill entire; and the marquis of Montcalm, a brave and enterpriſing general, advantageouſly poſted, protected with a formidable army Quebec, the capital of that province. His ſuperior force, and almoſt inacceſſible ſituation, could not repreſs the adventurous ſpirit of the Engliſh; animated by the example of their general, Wolfe, they climbed the rugged aſcent of the Heights of Abraham, and were formed in battle on the ſummit, before Montcalm, lulled into ſecurity by the temerity of the attempt, would give credit to the intelligence. Convinced that the report was too true, he now re-

A. D. 1758. 1762.

determined

termined to decide the fate of Canada in a general engagement: But the adverſe fortune of France prevailed. Montcalm, after diſplaying equal ſkill and courage, periſhed on the field, with above a thouſand of his braveſt ſoldiers. The Engliſh alſo purchaſed their victory at the expence of their general, whoſe early martial genius promiſed to rank him among the firſt commanders of any age or nation; but their ſucceſs in every other point was brilliant and unalloyed; Quebec ſurrendered; and a ſubſequent attempt of M. de Levi to recover that city, was, after an ineffectual victory, baffled by the perſevering valour of the garriſon. The remnant of the French forces, deſtitute of ſubſiſtence, mouldered away: The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations on the Miſſiſſippi, alone remained to France of all her ſettlements in North America; while in the Weſt Indies, the powerful armaments of the Engliſh wreſted from her the important and fruitful iſlands of Guadaloupe and Martinico; and ſoon after ſhook to the very baſis the grandeur and proſperity of the houſe of Bourbon, by ſtorming the Havannah, the principal ſea-port in the iſland of Cuba, the key of the Gulph of Mexico, and the centre of the Spaniſh trade and navigation in the New World.

A. D. 1758. In Africa, France was driven from the forts and factories which ſhe had eſtabliſhed on the river Senegal. Monſ. St. Jean, the governor of Goree, an iſland which lies at the diſtance of thirty leagues on the ſame coaſt, attempted to defend it from an Engliſh armament, conducted by commodore Keppel and colonel Woige; but his ardour was ill ſeconded by his garriſon, and he was reluctantly compelled to ſubmit to the ſuperior numbers of his enemies.

1758, 1759. A. D. But it was on the ſea, that element ever fatal to the ambition of France, and the proud theatre of Britiſh triumph, that the houſe of Bourbon beheld its lofty hopes finally overwhelmed: That marine which the treaſures and reſources of Lewis had been devoted to create, was in a few years totally

totally annihilated. The marquis du Queſne, with three ſhips of the line and a frigate, was intercepted between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, by a conſiderable Engliſh ſquadron, under admiral Oſborne; the frigate eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of her ſailing, but two of the ſhips of the line were taken after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and the third was driven on ſhore on the Spaniſh coaſt. M. de la Clue, in attempting to paſs the ſtreights of Gibraltar with twelve ſhips of the line, was encountered by Admiral Boſcawen with fourteen; the French ſoon ſought their ſafety in flight; De la Clue was wounded himſelf; two of his largeſt ſhips were taken, two more deſtroyed, and the remaining eight found ſhelter under the cannon of Cadiz. But the principal fleet of France, conſiſting of twenty-one ſail of the line and four frigates, ſtill remained at Breſt, under the command of M. Conflans, meditating a deſcent on the coaſt of Ireland. In the proſecution of this deſign, that admiral availed himſelf of a ſtorm, which had driven the Britiſh ſquadron into their own harbours; but he had ſcarce put to ſea before his hopes were blaſted by the appearance of admiral Hawke, with twenty-two ſhips of the line. Conflans, who dreaded the encounter, ſought ſhelter among the ſhoals and rocks of a lee-ſhore. He was purſued by his daring antagoniſt; his own ſhip, the Royal Sun, was driven on ſhore, and burnt by the French themſelves; the Hero ſhared the ſame fate by the hands of the Engliſh; the Formidable ſtruck her colours; and the Theſee, the Superbe, and the Juſte, were buried in the ocean by the Britiſh cannon, or the fury of the waves; the reſt ſought refuge in the river Vilaine. The victors themſelves did not entirely eſcape the rage of the tempeſt; two of their ſhips ſtruck on the ſand, and were totally loſt; but to the French marine, the wound, during the courſe of the war, was incurable; and thoſe ſhips which had eſcaped into the Vilaine, could never elude the vigilance of a Britiſh ſquadron, conſtantly ſtationed to block up the mouth of that river.

Such

A. D. 1762. Such repeated diſaſters humbled the pride of Lewis; his finances were exhauſted; his commerce at a ſtand; his marine annihilated; in the four different quarters of the world his arms had proved unfortunate; and his alliance with Spain had only introduced that crown to a participation of his calamities. Happily for him, the Engliſh councils were equally diſpoſed to peace. George the Third had diſmiſſed from adminiſtration the man whoſe commanding genius had changed the fortune of his country, and raiſed the Britiſh empire to a glory that aſtoniſhed the world. The new miniſter liſtened with readineſs to the propoſals of the court of Verſailles: The great outlines of the treaty were ſoon adjuſted, as both parties agreed to withdraw themſelves totally from the German war, and to reſtore the places they had taken. France alſo ceded to Great Britain, Canada, and the greateſt part of her ſettlements in America; but retained the right of fiſhing on the coaſt of Newfoundland, with the ſmall iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. She received back Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleiſle, with the neutral iſland of St. Lucia; and her Eaſt-India Company were eſtabliſhed in their former ſettlements: But in return ſhe conſented to deſtroy the harbour and demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk; reſtored Minorca; yielded Grenada and the Grenadines; and gave up all claim to the neutral iſlands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. Her ally, Spain, obtained again the Havannah, and all that part of the iſland of Cuba which had been conquered by the Engliſh, but in return, Charles engaged to permit the Engliſh to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, to evacuate Portugal, and to cede Florida to Great-Britain. The king of Pruſſia ſoon after concluded a treaty with the Empreſs-Queen, by which all conqueſts were mutually reſtored; and after a tedious and bloody war, the tranquillity of Europe was once more happily reeſtabliſhed.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Origin of the French parliaments;—Introduction of lawyers into thoſe courts;—Erect themſelves into judges during the reign of Charles the Sixth;—Are confirmed by Charles the Seventh.—Parliament claims the right of regiſtering and remonſtrating;—Is humbled in the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth;—Acquires new ſtrength during the minority of his ſucceſſor;—Reduced again by Lewis the Fourteenth;—On the death of that monarch declares the duke of Orleans ſole regent;—Is baniſhed and recalled by Lewis the Fifteenth.

THE late treaty, which delivered Lewis from the ſtorms of foreign war, promiſed a ſeaſon of reſt and tranquillity to his declining years: His luſt of tranſ-atlantic dominion had expoſed the veſſel of the ſtate to imminent danger; and at length eſcaped from the fury of the tempeſt, it might naturally have been expected that his caution and vigilance would have been exerted to ſteer clear of the ſhoals of domeſtic contention. But his reign was deſtined to prove equally inimical to the happineſs of his people, and to the deſpotic power of his ſucceſſor; the political horizon began already to be darkened with thoſe clouds which afterward burſt with accumulated violence on the head, and ſhook to the very foundation the throne of his grandſon.

The power of the firſt monarchs of France had been bounded by the national aſſemblies, to which was frequently applied the name of PARLIAMENTS: But when the feeble ſucceſſors of Charlemagne ſuffered the reins to drop from their hands, the barons aſſumed thoſe privileges which had been formerly annexed to the crown; and while they governed

their diſtricts with independent ſway, neglected the general concerns of the ſtate, and unleſs urged by private advantage, ſeldom deigned to attend the public ſummons. The vigour of Philip, ſurnamed AUGUSTUS, reſtored the ſemblance of regal authority; while the juſtice and wiſdom which his edicts diſplayed, allured the concurrence rather than commanded the obedience of his ſubjects. He united to the crown ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable provinces of France; he embelliſhed the principal towns and cities of his dominions; and generally ſucceſsful in war, he was reſpected and imitated in peace.

The integrity and piety of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Lewis the Ninth, caſt the ſame luſtre on the crown as had adorned it during the proſperous reign of Philip. Though defeated and even made captive in his unfortunate expedition againſt the infidels, his juſtice and devout humility blended with that of king the holy appellation of ſaint; and his ſubjects were diſpoſed to liſten with reverence to a legiſlator, who, ſevere to himſelf, directed his ſole views to the benefit of the ſtate: His patience and vigilance were continually exerciſed in alleviating the diſtreſſes of his people, and reſtoring that order which had been ſubverted by the haughty and reſtleſs ſpirits of a martial age.

The encouragement which St. Lewis gave to the code of Juſtinian, and the body of inſtitutions which in his reign were compiled from the Roman laws, eſtabliſhed a grand revolution the maxims of juriſprudence, and in the cognizance of civil cauſes. New courts were erected by his authority or example throughout the kingdom; the feudal judges who preſided over them, brave and indolent, by genius and habit were but ill qualified patiently to inveſtigate the theory of a complicated ſcience, or to toil through volumes which daily increaſed upon their hands;

hands; the numerous charters of infranchiſement, which had been granted to different towns and villages, required a variety of ſtipulations and exceptions; and the opinions and judgments of canoniſts and clerks were inceſſantly demanded, either to frame new regulations, or to explain the old ones.

Hence this claſs of men, by degrees, entered into the functions of judicature, and became conſtituent members of thoſe courts of juſtice which were ſummoned by the kings, either for the determinations of general feudal queſtions, or of private claims of right; and which were convened at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, according to the royal pleaſure. The ſecular peers and lords, whom they at firſt only aſſiſted with their advice, ſoon yielded to their ſuperiority in thoſe tribunals; inſtead of the ſimplicity and conciſeneſs which characteriſed the feudal forms of trial, and that martial appearance which can be compared only to the warlike ſplendour of a Poliſh Diet, the judges, in peaceful dignity, devoted their attention to the nice diſcuſſion of law queſtions, and encouraged thoſe ſubtleties which at once perplex and protract, and which throughout Europe ſo univerſally diſgrace the modern courts of juſtice.

Yet thoſe who had raiſed themſelves to eminence by the knowledge of the law, were ſtill confined to deciſions which affected only the life or property of the ſubject, and remained excluded from the diſcuſſion of matters of political importance. The national aſſemblies had ſunk into diſuſe; the court of peers, which originally was compoſed of only ſix ſecular and ſix eccleſiaſtical peers, but which had inſenſibly admitted the moſt powerful barons and biſhops, and the principal officers of the crown, were reſtrained to appeals which involved the intereſts of perſons of the ſame rank, the privileges of the

peerage, or the pretenſions of the throne; and Philip the Fair, the grandſon of St. Lewis, alarmed by the thunders of the Vatican, and deſirous of finding ſome ſupport in the concurrence of his people at large, convened an aſſembly of the three orders of his kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons; and for the firſt time introduced the latter into the grand council of the ſtate.

The example of Philip was imitated by his ſucceſſors; and theſe aſſemblies, which obtained indiſcriminately the names of STATES-GENERAL, or PARLIAMENTS, were held as the neceſſities of the ſovereign ſuggeſted till the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth. But the kings of France, ever jealous of their ſpirit, endeavour to prevent them from aſſuming a determined form or regular eſtabliſhment; the place of their meeting was frequently changed, and ſeveral provincial aſſemblies, to diminiſh the danger of their unanimity, were repeatedly held at the ſame time, and attended by commiſſioners from the crown. The later princes in the Houſe of Valois even endeavoured to ſubſtitute in their place conventions of the notables, and other partial meetings of the nobles; and whenever diſtreſs impelled them, it was ſtill with reluctance they had recourſe to their laſt reſource of the States-General or Parliaments.

But while the ſovereigns of France were impreſſed with evident jealouſy of theſe aſſemblies, they nouriſhed with care that court of juſtice which was compoſed of the moſt eminent among the nobility, the clergy, and the profeſſors of the law, and which, equally with the *national aſſembly* and the *ſtates-general*, had acquired the denomination of *Parliament*. Philip the Fair fixed the permanent ſeat of it at Paris; and as one chamber was inſufficient for the arrangement and diſpatch of appeals, he formed another, which was called the chamber of Inqueſts. Theſe chambers were appointed to meet twice in the year

year at the terms of All Saints and Eaſter, when their ſeſſions were continued for two months: But it is probable, that during the anarchy of the unfortunate reign of Charles the Sixth, the magiſtrates continued to ſit without intermiſſion; and the ſeſſions of the parliament have ever ſince been only legally prorogued by their own conſent, and the termination of public buſineſs.

From the moment that the parliament of Paris was eſtabliſhed, the progreſs of it was rapid and intereſting. The principal barons preſided with their ſwords by their ſides, as the ſupreme judges; but ignorant of the juriſprudence, their deciſions were directed by the opinions of the moſt able lawyers, who, as counſellors, explained to them the edicts of the ſtate and the cuſtoms of the kingdom. But the nobles, during the calamities which afflicted the æra of Charles the Sixth, deſerted their judicial ſtation; and it was immediately occupied by the moſt able profeſſors of the law. When Charles the Seventh recovered Paris from the arms of the Engliſh, it was his firſt care to re-eſtabliſh the adminiſtration of juſtice; he compoſed the grand chamber of parliament of thirty counſellors, half laity and half eccleſiaſtics; the chamber inqueſts he augmented to forty members; and confining his appointments to thoſe only verſed in the law, delivered his people from the capricious partiality of an ignorant nobility.

The neceſſity of providing ſome permanent repoſitory for the royal edicts, induced the kings of France to enroll them in the journals of their courts of parliament; and the members of thoſe courts ſoon availed themſelves of this cuſtom to diſpute the legality of any regulation which had not been thus regiſtered. But the right of remonſtrating, which in modern times has been aſſerted with ſo much vigour, only feebly appeared in the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; and during the minority of his ſon,

Charles

Charles the Eighth, when the duke of Orleans diſputed the regency with the lady of Beaujeu, and endeavoured to allure the parliament of Paris to ſupport his pretenſions, in oppoſition to the determination of the States-General, the preſident of that court replied, "that it was the buſineſs of the parliament ſolely to adminiſter juſtice to the people; and that war, the management of the revenue, and the government of the king, were not within their province:" And he ſtrongly recommended to the duke, to reſtrain himſelf within the limits of his allegiance, and not to interrupt the tranquillity of the kingdom.

But this moderation was of ſhort duration. As the influence of the ſtates-general diminiſhed, that of the parliament daily increaſed; the court of peers, reſigning its ſeparate claim of juriſdiction, was blended with it; and the kings of France, by holding their ſupreme beds of juſtice in this court, inveſted it with the ſupreme authority of the ſtate both in civil and criminal affairs. The encroachments of the ſee of Rome firſt engaged the attention of the parliament; and in the reign of Francis the Firſt, ſome ſtrong remonſtrances were preſented againſt the miſmanagement of the finances, and the impious rapacity which had ſtripped St. Martin of the ſilver rails that had been beſtowed on his ſhrine by Lewis the Eleventh.

In the tranſient and feeble reign of Francis the Second, when the progreſs of the reformed religion awakened the fears of the moſt zealous catholics, and afforded a pretence to the ambition of the houſe of Lorrain, the members of the parliament were ſummoned to deliver their opinions on religious toleration; and the lords of the council and the Guiſes mutually agreed to refer the deciſion of this important queſtion to that court. After long and warm debates, the majority of the parliament, by an edict, eſtabliſhed the authority of the Roman or apoſtolic

lic church; they declared the adminiſtration of any other religious rites capital crimes, and the judgment of them was left to the provincial courts. Heretical opinions were conſigned to the eccleſiaſtical tribunals; but the power of puniſhing the culprits remained with the ſecular magiſtrates, who were reſtricted from pronouncing a ſeverer ſentence than baniſhment.

When Charles the Ninth, the brother and ſucceſſor of Francis, on the fatal eve of St. Bartholomew, involved the unſuſpecting Hugonots in one promiſcuous maſſacre, and ſtained the memory of his reign with indelible infamy, the court of parliament praiſed the prudence of the king, who declared in that court, that he had only anticipated the deſigns of Coligny and the proteſtants againſt his own perſon; yet the preſident, de Thou, could not forbear adding, "That if the conſpiracy of Coligny "was real, he ought to have been proceeded "againſt legally."

In the ſubſequent reign of Henry the Third, when France was agitated by the ambition of the houſe of Lorrain, and the formidable confederacy of the League, the parliament maintained pure and unſhaken their allegiance to their ſovereign. On the aſſaſſination of the duke of Guiſe, the capital was ſubjected to the licentious caprice of the council of ſixteen; and Harlai, the preſident of the parliament, with Meſſrs. de Thou and Potier, who had incurred the diſpleaſure of the zealous leaguers, were by the triumphant faction committed to the Baſtile: A more unfortunate fate awaited the preſident Briſſon, who after the aſſaſſination of Henry the Third, had endeavoured to awake the loyalty of the Pariſians towards Henry the Fourth, and was executed, without the form of trial, by a ſentence of the council of ſixteen.

When

When that monarch recovered his capital he reſtored the parliament to its dignity and freedom; and thoſe edicts which had been extorted by the power of the league, againſt himſelf and his predeceſſor, were formally annulled. But when Henry himſelf, grateful for the former ſervices of the proteſtants whoſe religious tenets he had abjured, in the edict of Nantz, which was regiſtered in parliament, granted to the reformed permiſſion to aſſemble, at what place and at what time they pleaſed, to admit foreigners into their ſynods, and at pleaſure to quit the kingdom to join foreign ſynods, the parliament heſitated not to remonſtrate againſt a conceſſion ſo dangerous to the royal authority. The ſovereign liſtened with pleaſure to the language of loyalty; but the reformed were entitled to his confidence; he wiſhed to exinguiſh the rancour between the proteſtants and catholics by a generous toleration; and he compelled the parliament reluctantly to regiſter the edict.

On the death of Henry the Fourth, the parliament confirmed the title of his widow to the regency, during the minority of Lewis the Thirteenth. Even after that prince came of age to aſſume the reins of government, they vindicated their authority againſt the duke d'Epernon, who had preſumed to releaſe by force a ſoldier from the priſon of St. Germain. The king, partial to the duke, commanded the parliament to diſcontinue their proceedings; the parliament obeyed; but at the ſame time they determined to ſtop the adminiſtration of juſtice, till they had received ſatisfaction for this inſult to their body; and though the king diſapproved their reſolution, the duke d'Epernon was at length compelled to a perſonal ſubmiſſion.

But when the commanding genius of Richelieu guided the counſels of his ſovereign, the parliament were taught to reſpect the voice of a maſter: Their mediation

mediation in favour of the queen mother was ſeverely reproved, and they were reduced, at Metz, to implore the pardon of inſulted majeſty. By acquieſcing in the deſires of the court in diſſolving the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, with Margaret of Lorrain, they reconciled themſelves to the haughty cardinal; yet unmindful of their late humiliation, they again expoſed themſelves to his reſentment by reſiſting the eſtabliſhment of the French Academy; and though their oppoſition was ineffectual, that miniſter ever after regarded them with jealouſy and averſion.

The death of the cardinal was ſoon ſucceeded by that of Lewis the Thirteenth; and the minority of his ſon was entruſted to the care of the queen mother, Anne of Auſtria. That princeſs called to the ſupreme direction of affairs the cardinal Mazarin, and the nation ſubmitted with reluctance to the authority of a foreigner and a prieſt. The parliament availed themſelves of the general indignation to ſhake off the fetters which Richelieu had impoſed, and to aſſume powers unknown before. Some vexatious edicts which they refuſed to regiſter, was the ſignal of public revolt; the queen, to enforce obedience, arreſted ſeveral of the counſellors; and the people eſpouſing the cauſe of the parliament, whom they conſidered as their champions againſt an oppreſſive miniſter, tumultuouſly aſſembled in arms, and barricadoed the ſtreets. The court, alarmed at their hoſtile appearance, reſtored the members of the parliament to their freedom; and ſoon after abandoned a capital which it could no longer govern. For four ſucceſſive years the parliament alternately oppoſed the authority of the regent, and thundered its edicts againſt the princes of the blood. Amidſt every ſpecies of anarchy and civil commotion, Lewis the Fourteenth attained the age fixed for his majority; he appeared in his parliament,

liament, boldly reprimanded their preſumption, and baniſhed thoſe members whoſe activity had rendered them moſt conſpicuous: The reſt of the aſſembly ſubmitted to the mandates of their ſovereign; they cancelled the obnoxious edicts againſt Mazarin; they received that miniſter with every mark of regard and approbation; and during the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth the parliament of Paris was content to adminiſter juſtice in obſequious ſilence.

Towards the cloſe of the reign of that monarch, ſome feeble murmurs eſcaped them againſt the bull UNIGENITUS, which they conſidered as an infringement on the liberties of the Gallican church; but no ſooner had Lewis ſunk into the grave than the parliament embraced the opportunity of eſcaping from that ſubjection in which he had held them; and, contrary to the will of the deceaſed monarch, they veſted the ſole power of the regency in the hands of the duke of Orleans. Yet the freedom of their expoſtulations with that prince on the ruinous ſyſtem of Law, determined him to diſmiſs them to Pontoiſe; and they were compelled to purchaſe their recall by the moſt degrading conceſſions. We have ſince beheld them, on the reſumption of the bull Unigenitus, reſiſting Lewis the Fifteenth in the plenitude of his power; and though repeatedly baniſhed, yet conſtantly recalled, and gathering from each fall, increaſe of vigour.

From the time of Philip the Fair the parliament of Paris advanced rapidly, and continually gathered ſtrength in its progreſs. In the different and moſt flouriſhing cities of France, other parliaments, on a ſimilar principle, were gradually erected; but though we have traced the counſellors of Law thus elevating themſelves to the higheſt and nobleſt office of government, and diſpenſing juſtice in the ſupreme court of the kingdom, yet the notions of honour peculiar to the Gothic nations precluded them from being

being ennobled by their places: They were officially aſſociated with peers, and had ſat in judgment on princes of the blood; yet for ſeveral centuries they in vain ſtruggled to obtain admiſſion among the order of nobility; and it was not till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who had humbled their power, that their vanity was gratified by the indulgence of that monarch, whoſe edict firſt entitled them to the honours and privileges of the nobles.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XL.

Expulſion of the Jeſuits.—Remonſtrances of the Parliament of Paris—Of Rouen.—Death of the Dauphin.—Remonſtrances of the Parliament of Britany.—Lewis reclaims from the Pope the territories of Avignon and the Venaiſſin.—Conquers Corſica.—Marriage of the Dauphin.—Proſecution of the Duke d'Aiguillon.—Difference with the Parliament revived—The Members baniſhed.—New Tribunals eſtabliſhed, and new laws framed.—Difference with the Princes of the Blood.—General diſcontent of the people.—Death of Lewis the Fifteenth.

WHILE Lewis ſunk beneath the fortune and genius of his foreign enemies, the parliament of Paris were vigorouſly engaged in purſuing their triumph over their domeſtic foes. The arts and influence of the Jeſuits had obtained and enforced the bull Unigenitus; and their victory had been conſidered as a dangerous wound to the dignity of the parliament. But that order, that had obtruded itſelf into the Cabinets of the moſt powerful potentates of Europe, that had attained almoſt an independent ſovereignty in America, now tottered on the brink of deſtruction. A conſpiracy which they had framed and encouraged againſt the life of the king of Poland, excited the general deteſtation; and while they laboured under this odium, ſome fraudulent practices to which their avarice ſtimulated them in France, completed their diſgrace, and expoſed them to the ſeverity of the civil law.

La Valette, chief of their miſſionaries at Martinico, had ever ſince the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle carried on, for the benefit of his ſociety, an extenſive and advantageous commerce: By his ingenious and bold

bold ſpeculations, he had augmented it to ſuch a degree as to excite the jealouſy of the merchants and inhabitants of the colony; he formed eſtabliſhments in the neighbouring iſlands, and had factories at Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; he drew bills of exchange upon Marſeilles, Nantz, Lyons, Paris, Cadiz, Leghorn, and Amſterdam; and his ambition aſpired to monopolize the trade of France in the Weſt-Indies, when his projects were blaſted by an event as calamitous as it was unexpected.

His veſſels laden with riches went over the ſeas in ſecurity, when the Engliſh commenced thoſe hoſtilities fatal to ſo many ſpeculators, and eſpecially to the brothers Lionay and Gouffre, merchants at Marſeilles, who, in expectation of two millions of merchandize, had, accepted notes to the amount of a million and an half, drawn by the Jeſuits. Stunned by this heavy blow, they in vain implored the ſupport of the ſociety of Jeſus; that order, blind to its real intereſt, was either deaf to their intreaties, or too tardy in its aſſiſtance. Before their courier arrived, the houſe of Lionays ſtopped payment, and throughout the principal commercial towns in France involved a multitude of unfortunate perſons in their ruin.

Thoſe who were intereſted as ſufferers in the failure of the Lionays, ſought for indemnification from the order of the Jeſuits; they aſſerted that La Valette had acted, as a monk indeed neceſſarily muſt do, for the benefit of his ſociety; and on the refuſal of the order to make good the loſſes they had ſuſtained in their connection with their agent, they carried their cauſe before the parliament of Paris. A. D. 1761, 1762.

That aſſembly eagerly ſeized the opportunity of humbling their domeſtic enemies. The Jeſuits were every where cited before their tribunals, and ordered

to

to do juſtice to their creditors. In vain did they urge that commerce being forbidden to religious orders by the canons of the church, and by the laws, the engagements of La Valette were perſonal, and ought not to involve the ruin of a whole ſociety. But the completion of their errors was the giving into the ſnares that had been prepared for them by their adverſaries: Theſe, in order to prove that the government of the Jeſuits was deſpotic; that every thing was ſubmitted to the power of the general; and that Father de la Valette neither was, nor could be, any thing elſe than the agent of the ſociety, appealed to the conſtitutions of the order. The Jeſuits imprudently accepted the challenge, and referred to the ſame authority to juſtify their aſſertion, that the ſociety had no property, and that the funds belonged to the ſeveral houſes or colleges.

The myſterious volume, which had been ſo carefully ſecluded from the light, was now produced in open court: It was found to contain an admirable, but alarming picture of the order; all the members of which being united by the conformity of their morals, and the reſemblance of the doctrine and manners, ſubmitted implicitly to their chief, and formed a diſtinct body in the ſtate, ſubject to the ſole control of their general, who was abſolute over their actions, their fortunes, and their lives.

At the ſame time it was diſcovered, that from the period of their former expulſion they had again been admitted into the kingdom on certain conditions, which they had never fulfilled, and to which their general had obſtinately refuſed to ſubſcribe; ſo that the contract between this religious order and the ſtate had never been completed; and their exiſtence in France was the effect only of toleration, and not of adoption.

To theſe fatal diſcoveries were added the diſpoſitions of the marchioneſs de Pompadour, and her favourite miniſter. The mareſchal Belleiſle, who had

had entruſted the education of his only ſon to the Jeſuits, ſunk into the grave before the concluſion of the peace; and to his influence ſucceeded the duke de Choiſeul, a nobleman who diſliked, and was honoured by the hatred of the order. This miniſter, of an active and bold turn of mind, endeavoured to effect revolutions not only in ſtates, but alſo in the opinions of the people; ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of modern philoſophy, and an enemy to the power of religious communities, his ſentiments gave weight to the proceedings of parliament: The writings of the Jeſuits were pronounced to contain doctrines ſubverſive of all civil government, and injurious to the ſecurity of the ſacred perſons of ſovereigns: The attempt of Damien on the life of the king was attributed to their ſuggeſtions, and every thing ſeemed to foretell their ſpeedy diſſolution.

Yet one feeble ray of hope broke in upon the gloom from the proſpect of royal favour; and Lewis, who had beheld the late proceedings with indifference, was now allured by the ſolicitations of the friends to the ſociety, faintly to interpoſe in their behalf. The royal mandate, for the ſpace of a year, averted their impending deſtiny; and during that period, all deciſions againſt the ſociety were commanded to be ſuſpended. A plan of accommodation was drawn up, and ſubmitted to the pope and the general of the order; but the latter, at this criminal moment, diſplayed an ill-time haughtineſs, and imprudent inflexibility; "*Let them exiſt as they* "*were, or not exiſt at all,*" was his injudicious anſwer. The indifference of the king returned; the activity of the parliament was rekindled; and the decree of proſcription immediately enſued.

The parliament declared the bulls, briefs, conſtitutions, and other regulations of the ſociety called of Jeſus, to be encroachments of authority, and abuſes of government; they diſſolved the ſociety; forbad

forbad the members to wear the habit of the order; and interdicted them from the poſſeſſion of any prebends, livings, or pulpits, or any other clerical or municipal offices. Their colleges were ſeized; their effects confiſcated; and the king joining in the general reſentment, ſeconded the decree of the parliament, by an edict which utterly aboliſhed the order of Jeſuits throughout his dominions.

But the king of France, while he repoſed in the arms of beauty, little thought that A. D. 1763. in joining to ſuppreſs a religious order, he had kindled a flame which might prove fatal to deſpotic government. The French parliament, elated by their victory over eccleſiaſtical tyranny, now attempted to ſet bounds to the abſolute power of the crown, and ſeemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. An edict which Lewis iſſued for the continuance of ſome taxes which were to have ended with the war, was conſidered by the parliaments as an unwarrantable burthen; and a ſecond edict, which enabled the crown to redeem its debts at an inadequate price, was repreſented as a violation of the public faith. The flame rapidly ſpread through the kingdom; the different parliaments ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt, and ultimately refuſed to regiſter, the edicts; and thoſe of Paris and Rouen diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their firm and animated language. "The ſubject," ſaid the latter, "has "a right to the eaſieſt and leaſt burthenſome method "of contributing to the wants of the ſtate. This "right, which is founded in nature, belongs to "every nation in the world, whatever may be its "form of government; it is principally the right of "the FRANCS; and in a more eſpecial manner that "of your province of Normandy. The Norman "charter furniſhes on this head the moſt reſpectable "monuments of our national immunities, and of the "JUSTICE of the kings, your auguſt predeceſſors.

"We

" We there find that no tax can be laid on your ſub-
" jects of this province, unleſs it be agreed to in the
" aſſembly of *the people of the three eſtates. This*
" *charter ſubſiſts in its full force; it makes part of*
" *your people's rights, which you ſwore to maintain be-*
" *fore Him* BY WHOM KINGS REIGN."

From the ſouth they echoed, without any diminution, the voice of the northern parliaments; and that of Bourdeaux heſitated not to declare, that it was their duty in regiſtering an edict to bear witneſs to the people that the tax was juſt, and to the king, that his people are ſtill able to furniſh the ſupplies; at Thouloufe, at Grenoble, and Beſançon, they purſued the ſame meaſures, and held the ſame language.

The court, to combat this oppoſition, A. D.
ſent down the different governors of the 1763, 1764.
provinces, with orders in the king's name to regiſter the edicts by force, and to cauſe them to be obeyed. The duke of Fitz-James accordingly repaired to Thouloufe, the duke of Harcourt to Rouen, and Monſieur Meſnil to Grenoble. The former in vain ſet guards upon the houſes of the principal magiſtrates, and menaced the reſt with the ſame reſtraint; the patriotic party was provoked rather than intimidated by this rigour: The neighbouring parliament of Provence eſpouſed with ardour the cauſe of their brethren of Thouloufe; they declared, that by the outrage in the capital of Languedoc, the whole nation, and the throne itſelf, was wounded by tyrannical acts; the members of the parliament of Thouloufe, animated by the friendly aſſurances of Provence, as ſoon as they could aſſemble, came to more effectual reſolutions, and determined to arreſt their governor, though acting with the authority and under the immediate direction of the crown, and to proceed againſt him as a criminal.

The duke of Harcourt and Monſieur Meſnil, in Rouen and Grenoble, imitated the conduct of the duke of Fitz-James, and were encountered by a ſimilar oppoſition; their reſpective parliaments commanded their bodies to be ſeized, and brought to the priſons of the court; and in caſe they could not be apprehended, their eſtates and effects were to be confiſcated, or put under the adminiſtration of a legal commiſſary.

A. D. 1765. The fatal influence of the marchioneſs of Pompadour had terminated with her life; and amidſt theſe convulſions, the dauphin of France, a prince of a pious and mild diſpoſition, expired, in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age. Maria Thereſa, the infanta of Spain, whom he had firſt eſpouſed, died in child-bed; and the daughter of which ſhe was delivered, ſurvived her mother but a ſhort time. His ſecond marriage, in 1747, with Maria Joſepha, of Saxony, proved more fruitful; and he left behind three ſons, the duke of Berri, the count of Provence, and the count of Artois, with two daughters. The king immediately conferred the title of dauphin on the duke of Berri; but with a proper attention to the memory of his deceaſed ſon, ordered that the dowager dauphineſs ſhould retain precedence of his royal highneſs.

A. D. 1766. But if the heart of Lewis was on this occaſion ſenſible of paternal emotions, the cares of ſovereignty allowed him not to indulge his ſorrows in retirement. The voice of freedom had been heard through the different provinces of the kingdom; the parliament of Brittany had refuſed to the crown a free gift of ſeven hundred thouſand livres; and they were ſingled out to experience the weight of the royal vengeance. The old parliament was diſſolved; a new commiſſion of ſixty members was appointed by the king in its room; and a ſevere proſecution was at the ſame time carried on

on againſt the degraded members: But in the inſtant that ſentence was to have paſſed, Lewis prudently ſtopped the proceſs, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his people, by publiſhing a general amneſty in their favour.

The clemency of the monarch was treated with diſdain; the counſellors of the parliament of Brittany refuſed to reſume their functions; and alleged, that as they had taken an oath to their parliament, they could not plead before the commiſſion which the king had appointed in its room. Lewis, enraged at their oppoſition, ordered them to be included in the liſt of thoſe who were to be drafted for the militia; ſuch as the lot fell on were immediately obliged to join their reſpective battalions, and the reſt were employed in forming the city-guard.

The parliament of Paris had not beheld with indifference the fate of their brethren in Brittany; they had applauded their conduct, and exhorted them to perſevere in their fortitude. But the freedom of their remonſtrances ſoon drew upon them the royal cenſure; Lewis ſuddenly appeared in the capital, preſented himſelf in the public court, and ſeverely reprimanded the temerity of the members; he added, with the dignity of offended majeſty, "I "will not ſuffer an aſſociation to be formed in my "kingdom, which might grow into a confederacy "of reſiſtance."

The deputies from the parliament of Rouen had pointedly reminded the ſovereign of his coronation oath, and inſinuated a compact between the king and the people. The anſwer of Lewis was conveyed in the ſtrongeſt terms: "The oath that I have made, "not to the nation, as you take upon you to ſay, "but to God alone." This diſtinction proclaimed his determination to ſuffer no earthly oppoſition to his will; the parliaments were for a moment awed by the imperious voice of the monarch, and a tran-

ſient and deceitful calm ſucceeded the hollow murmurs of diſcontent.

A. D. 1767, 1768. From curbing the free and daring ſpirits of his parliaments, Lewis directed his attention to the ſtate of foreign powers. Poland was afflicted with all the calamities that attend religious rancour and civil commotion: The diſtance of that country precluded the interference of France; and her king, with ſuperior policy, limited his views to Corſica, an iſland in the Mediterranean. Previous to this enterpriſe, the patrimony of St. Peter, defended alone by ſpiritual arms, was doomed to experience the more formidable weapons of the king of France. On the refuſal of the pope to recall a brief which he had publiſhed againſt the duke of Parma, Lewis thought proper to reclaim the territories of Avignon and the Venaiſſin, as fiefs belonging to him; and the Roman pontiff, having no troops to oppoſe him, could only denounce againſt him the penalties incurred by thoſe who ſeize on effects belonging to the church. But the thunders of the Vatican, once ſo terrible, were no longer regarded; and the marquis of Rochecouart, with the regiment of Dauphiné, expelled the feeble train of the pope, and received, in the name of the king, the homage and ſubmiſſion of the people.

A. D. 1768, 1769. But far different preparations were neceſſary to bend the hardy and ſtubborn natives of Corſica. Theſe had reſiſted, with manly firmneſs, the oppreſſive councils of the Genoeſe, who claimed the ſovereignty of the iſland by right of conqueſt. But Genoa, unable to ſupport her pretenſions, transferred them to France, on condition that Lewis ſhould put her in full poſſeſſion of the adjacent iſland of Capraia, which the Corſicans had lately invaded and reduced. To execute his engagements, powerful armaments were fitted out by Lewis, at Antibes and Toulon; twenty battalions of French

French were landed in Corſica; and the natives, whoſe free ſuffrages had ſummoned Paoli, one of their principal chiefs, to the ſupreme government of the iſland, determined to defend their liberties to the utmoſt. A ſharp and bloody war, ſuch as ſuited the inferior numbers of the inhabitants and the nature of the country, was carried on in all the faſtneſſes and mountainous parts of the iſland. And it was not till aftert he French had fatally experienced, in two ſucceſſive campaigns, the enthuſiaſtic courage which animates the champions of Freedom, that they overwhelmed by their ſuperior numbers this unfortunate people; nor had Lewis much reaſon to triumph in an acquiſition, to attain which he had ſacrificed ſeveral thouſands of his braveſt troops, and only extended his dominion over a rugged and unproductive iſland.

While France abroad was exhauſting her treaſures in a ruinous and unprofitable conflict, at home her merchants were expoſed to every ſpecies of failure and diſtreſs. Her Eaſt-India Company, formerly ſo flouriſhing, became totally bankrupt; the moſt capital commercial houſes were involved in the ſame calamity; and the deſperate manœuvre of the miniſter, the duke of Choiſeul, in reducing the intereſt of the public funds to one-half, and at the ſame time taking away the benefit of ſurvivorſhip in the tontines, increaſed the general gloom, and ſtruck at the root of all national faith and credit.

But though the arms of Lewis had extinguiſhed the flame of freedom in Corſica, in France it was revived by the breath of the parliaments, and cheriſhed with a fond regard that threatened the moſt important conſequences. An edict iſſued by the king, which transferred ſome new and extraordinary powers to the grand council, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the parliament of Paris; ſixty-four members of that aſſembly voted for utterly aboliſhing that

that council; and the queſtion was only loſt by a majority of two, though all the princes of the blood attended to ſupport the court, and the duke of Choiſeul endeavoured to overawe the independent ſpirit of the patriotic party by continuing in the aſſembly throughout the debate.

That miniſter, wearied with ineffectual ſtruggles, now exerted his addreſs to conciliate thoſe whom he had in vain attempted to intimidate. Though the king had hitherto reſiſted the ſolicitations of his people to reſtore the parliament of Brittany, he now aſpired to popularity by doing of his own accord that which he had been vainly importuned to grant; and the duke de Duras was ſent into that province, to reeſtabliſh the parliament, and to recall the members from exile.

A. D. 1770. But a conceſſion, which a ſhort time ſince would have been aſcribed to the benignity of the monarch, was now attributed to the fears of the court; and the parliament had ſcarce aſſembled before they convinced their countrymen, that oppreſſion had confirmed and not extinguiſhed their zeal for the public welfare. The province of Brittany had long groaned beneath the iron rule of the duke d'Aiguillon, and for four years he had perſecuted with unremitting vengeance M. de Chalotais, the attorney-general to the Parliament. That unfortunate gentleman, whoſe genius, learning, and integrity merited a better fate, had oppoſed with the indignation of a virtuous magiſtrate, the oppreſſive meaſures of the duke; and the malevolent rage of the haughty governor, ſeconded by the influence of the counteſs du Barri, the new and favourite miſtreſs of the king, whoſe confidence he had acquired, drove the unhappy object of his enmity into exile, purſued him from dungeon to dungeon; and at length, by the ſubornation of falſe witneſſes and the profligacy of dependent judges, procured againſt him

him a ſentence which involved his life; and which his perſecutor haſtened privately to carry into execution.

But the parliament of Brittany had received intelligence of the dark deſigns of their governor; the humanity of the duke of Choiſeul was intereſted by their repreſentations; and an order in favour of M. de Chalotais arrived time enough to ſtop the hand of the executioner, which was already armed againſt his life. The reſcue of that gentleman laid open a ſcene of the blackeſt iniquity; and the parliament of Brittany, poſſeſſed of new proofs, commenced a proceſs againſt the duke d'Aiguillon, whoſe trial was conducted in the preſence of the king, the princes of the blood, the peers, and the parliament of Paris. Before theſe judges the written proceedings carried on againſt M. de Chalotais were produced, and diſcloſed ſuch a complicated ſyſtem of guilt and cruelty, as exceeded whatever could have been ſurmiſed.

It was amidſt theſe domeſtic diſquietudes that the dauphin received the hand of Maria-Antonietta, ſiſter to the emperor of Germany. But even theſe nuptials, that promiſed to cement the alliance of France with the houſe of Auſtria, were attended with events the moſt inauſpicious: The crowd that haſtened to be ſpectators of the fire-works, tumultuouſly preſſed upon each other; thoſe who were foremoſt were borne down by the weight of increaſing numbers behind, and it is ſuppoſed ſeveral hundreds periſhed in the fatal confuſion; yet even this loſs, ſevere as it was, could not divert the public attention from the proſecution of the duke d'Aiguillon.

But at the moment that the nation awaited the deciſion of this important cauſe, Lewis thought proper, by a violent exertion of power, to put a total ſtop to the whole courſe of juſtice, and to all further enquiries into the conduct of the duke: At the ſame time, conſcious of their ſentiments, he forbade the princes

princes of the blood from attending the parliament. A procedure ſo inconſiſtent with the rights of the peerage was openly reprobated by the prince of Conti; and the partiality which the king evidently diſplayed towards the duke d'Aiguillon, could not repreſs the determined reſolution of the parliaments againſt him. That of Paris prohibited him from exerciſing the functions of his peerage, till his character was cleared by an open trial; and though the king annulled their arret by his abſolute authority, they maintained their reſolution with incredible firmneſs, and their remonſtrances were ſeconded by the repreſentations of the princes and peers, who complained that their honour was ſacrificed, and the rights of the peerage annihilated.

The other parliaments were not behind in vigour or reſolution to that of Paris; but the general deteſtation that purſued the duke d'Aiguillon ſeemed only to increaſe the attachment of his royal maſter; and Lewis, after having ſeverely reprimanded the parliament of Paris for their temerity, ordered two of their members to be arreſted, and ſent to the caſtle of Vincennes; yet the reſt, inſtead of being intimidated by this ſeverity, ſtill diſplayed an aſtoniſhing magnanimity, and perſevered in repeated deputations and remonſtrances.

At length the king arrived ſuddenly at Paris, and having ſurrounded with his guards the parliament, entered the aſſembly, reproached the members in the ſevereſt terms, diſmiſſed the two chambers of Inqueſts and Requeſts, and ordered all proceedings againſt the duke d'Aiguillon to be eraſed from their regiſters. The parliament, however, ſtill continued to aſſemble, and obſerved that the late acts of arbitrary power, both againſt the letter and ſpirit of the conſtitution, left no room to doubt that a premeditated deſign was harboured to change the form of government; and that though they ſhould for a while

while poſtpone their deliberations, they proclaimed their reſolution ſtill to perſevere in carrying truth to the foot of the throne.

Meaſures equally violent were adopted againſt the provincial parliaments. That of Brittany was ſurpriſed by the intruſion of a major general, who produced lettres de cachet for the firſt preſident, ſolicitor general, and regiſter, and compelled them by an armed force to eraſe from their regiſters the arrets obnoxious to the court. The members, however, aſſembled ſoon after, and iſſued a ſtrong proteſt againſt this act of power, which they pronounced in the higheſt degree to be arbitrary and illegal.

At Metz, mareſchal d'Armentieres entered the parliament houſe at the head of eight companies of grenadiers, tore to pieces ſeveral of the arrets, and baniſhed the moſt diſtinguiſhed members; Beſançon was inſulted by a ſimilar inſtance of military violence; yet Rouen ſtill perſevered in its deputation, and its complaints were echoed by the chamber of aids at Paris; who after in vain ſeeking acceſs to the throne, to the amazement and confuſion of the court, printed its remonſtrance.

The diſcontent of the populace, who looked up with admiration to the patriotiſm and heroic firmneſs of the parliaments, was increaſed by a dearth which prevailed this year throughout the kingdom. A ſcanty ſupply was procured by opening the ports, and permitting foreigners as well as natives to import or export corn at will, without any retroſpect to the price for which it might have been ſold during the continuance in the ports: But though this regulation might alleviate the public miſery, yet ſo fatal were the ravages of famine, that in Limoſin and Marche only, four thouſand perſons are ſuppoſed to have periſhed.

The monarch, immerſed in ſenſuality, heard with indifference the cries of his people; but he liſtened with

with more reſpect to the ſolicitations of his miſtreſs, the counteſs du Barri. The hatred of that lady to the duke of Choiſeuil was conſtant and undiſguiſed; and her royal lover, amidſt the blandiſhments of amorous intercourſe, was inceſſantly urged to diſmiſs the obnoxious miniſter. But whatever promiſes were drawn from the eaſy king in the hours of dalliance, were repeatedly revoked on reflection; and it is probable that the duke of Choiſeul might ſtill have retained his poſt, had not the imprudence of his ſiſter, and his own enterpriſing genius, precipitated his downfall.

The pride of the ducheſs de Grammont was ſeverely mortified by the aſcendancy of the counteſs du Barri; though neither young nor handſome, ſhe had aſpired to the royal bed, and hoped to confirm, by her influence as miſtreſs to the king, the power to which her brother had attained as miniſter. This proſpect was blaſted by the fond attachment of Lewis to his new favourite; and the ducheſs, inſtead of remaining at Verſailles, and endeavouring ſecretly to undermine her enemies, gave open vent to her indignation; ſhe inflamed the parliaments of the different provincial towns; and in a progreſs through France, aſſured them, that in their remonſtrances to the crown they would be ſupported by the duke of Choiſeul.

But the impetuoſity of that miniſter plunged him into a more fatal error. The court of Spain had already formed deſigns againſt Port Egmont, a ſettlement on one of the Malouine iſlands, and poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. The duke of Choiſeul, who had with impatience ſubmitted to the triumphs of that people, aſſured the cabinet of Madrid that Lewis would firmly maintain the union of the houſe of Bourbon, and the engagements that he had contracted by the Family Compact. The intrigues of the duke could not long be kept ſecret from the king; he heard

heard with aſtoniſhment the preſumption of that ſtateſman, who hazarded an anſwer of ſuch importance without the concurrence of the crown; he trembled at the thoughts of war, and at the duties which muſt obtrude upon hours which he had devoted to pleaſure; he was ſtill embarraſſed by the remonſtrances of his parliaments; and he determined to get rid of a miniſter whom he ſuſpected of too much complacency towards thoſe aſſemblies. The count de St. Florentin, lately created duke de la Vrilliere, was appointed to carry him the fatal Lettre de Cachet, which was couched in the following terms: "The diſſatisfaction I experience in your ſervices, obliges me to baniſh you to Chanteloup, where you will repair in twenty-four hours. I would have ſent you much further, if it had not been for the particular eſteem I have for the ducheſs de Choiſeul, in whoſe welfare I am much intereſted. Be careful that your conduct does not force me to take ſome other ſtep; and I pray God to keep you in his holy protection."

The duke of Choiſeul found ſome compenſation for the loſs of royal favour in the approbation of the public; and he retired with the acclamations of the people at large. A.D. 1771. But his retreat ſecured not the ſubmiſſion of the parliaments of France; and thoſe aſſemblies, though deprived of the ſupport that they had looked up to, ſtill maintained a conduct equally firm and honourable. The members long withſtood the royal edict, by which they were to acknowledge themſelves obliged in future to regiſter all the edicts of the king, even againſt their own remonſtrances. The preſence of the monarch at length compelled them to enter on their journals the fatal edict; but in their next aſſembly the parliament of Paris complained of it as an act of force, and appointed a deputation to the king to entreat him to withdraw it. Their language

on

on this occaſion was bold, firm, and animated: "Your edict, Sire, is deſtructive of all law; your "parliament is charged to maintain the law; and "the law periſhing, they ſhould periſh with it: "Theſe are, Sire, the laſt words of your parlia-"ment."

Lewis, enraged at their perſeverance, now yielded to the moſt violent councils, and prepared to ſupport his authority by the moſt deciſive meaſures: The members, in the dead of night, were waked in their beds by parties of the guards, who preſented to each of them a Lettre de Cachet, which enjoined them to declare whether they would reſume the adminiſtration of juſtice, which they had abandoned, or perſiſt in their refuſal. Though in the moment of confuſion a few were ſurpriſed into acquieſcence, yet theſe ſoon retracted: They were commanded to attend at court, to receive their diſmiſſion; and maintaining, even in the preſence of the ſovereign, the ſame decent but inflexible firmneſs, the whole body of the parliament was baniſhed from the capital.

The chief author of a conduct ſo daring and odious, was the chançellor de Maupeou; a man who had aſcended to power by the practice of every ſpecies of fraud and deceit, and who ſhared with the duke d'Aiguillon the public hatred. At his ſuggeſtion a temporary tribunal was erected, at which the lawyers of the crown were compelled to aſſiſt; but this phantom of a parliament, and the hopes of the people that the old one would be reſtored, were ſoon extinguiſhed. The king, at the laſt bed of juſtice that he held, iſſued three edicts; the firſt for the diſſolution of the preſent parliament; the ſecond for the ſuppreſſion of the Court of Aids; and the third for the tranſformation of the Grand Council into a new parliament. The king cloſed the aſſembly with theſe deciſive words: "You have juſt heard my in-"tentions;

" tentions; it is my will that they ſhould be exe-
" cuted. I command you to begin your functions
" next Monday; my chancellor will go to inſtal
" you. I forbid all deliberations contrary to my
" will, and all repreſentations in favour of the an-
" cient parliament; for I will *never* change."
Soon after the king declared that the juriſdiction of the new parliament, which reached from Lyons to Arras, was too extenſive; he now divided it into ſix different parts: each court was to have a ſimilar juriſdiction, and to be held at Arras, Lyons, Clermont, Blois, Poictiers, and Paris; a new code of laws, which had been framed by the chancellor, was alſo preſented and approved; and meaſures accordingly taken for carrying them into execution.

The parliament of Rouen had not beheld in ſilence the fate of their brethren at Paris; they declared the new parliament uſurpers, and enemies of the ſtate, and ſtrictly forbad the acknowledgment or execution of any of their arrets. The court was awed by the danger of a conteſt with the powerful and high-ſpirited duchy of Normandy; and it is ſurmiſed that the generous refuſal of the duke of Harcourt to command the troops intended to cruſh that province, induced Lewis to relinquiſh the violent meaſures that he meditated. But the ſame reſpect was not paid to the parliaments of Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thouloufe, and Brittany; theſe were totally ſuppreſſed, the members driven into exile, and new parliaments erected in the room of the old.

The public diſcontent at the ſuppreſſion of their ancient parliaments was not leſſened by the appointment of the duke d'Aiguillon to the poſt of miniſter for foreign affairs. That nobleman, by the friendſhip of the counteſs du Barri, and the diſhonourable interpoſition of the royal authority, had eluded the ſword of Juſtice; and it was the ſtrong

expreſſion

expreſſion of the duke of Briſſac, a nobleman of a lively and romantic diſpoſition, "*that he had indeed* "*ſaved his head, but that his neck had been twiſted.*" He was now preferred to an office of the higheſt importance, and the king, by conſtant marks of favour, ſeemed deſirous on every occaſion of triumphing over the feelings of his people.

A. D. 1771, 1772. Yet the inſenſibility of Lewis was not entirely proof againſt one inſtance of oppoſition. The princes of the blood had ſtrongly proteſted againſt the late invocations; and their firmneſs had drawn upon them the king's indignation; they were forbid to appear in the royal preſence, and ultimately baniſhed from court; but theſe illuſtrious perſons ill brooked their exile from ſcenes of gaiety and magnificence; with the life of the count of Clermont their fortitude expired; they languiſhed to return to the circle of royal pleaſures; and the king, who beheld the luſtre of his court clouded during their abſence, accepted, with pleaſure, their overtures of accommodation.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid ſaw with regret the duke d'Aiguillon, as miniſter for foreign affairs, poſſeſſed of a poſt to which their wiſhes were inceſſantly recalling the duke of Choiſeul: And the new ſecretary, though not deſtitute of capacity, yet ſuffered the partition of Poland to be concluded againſt the evident intereſt of France. Lewis himſelf was ſo ſtruck at the firſt intelligence of the event, that he could not help exclaiming, "Alas! if Choiſeul "had been here, this would not have happened." But this tranſient emotion ſoon ſubſided in the arms of the counteſs du Barri; and the revolution of Stockholm, accompliſhed under the auſpices of France, which overthrew the power of the ariſtocracy, and eſtabliſhed the authority of the ſovereign, reſtored the reputation of the duke d'Aiguillon.

Delivered

Delivered from the remonſtrances of his parliament, and devoted to voluptuouſneſs, the hours of Lewis ſeemed to glide in conſtant enjoyment; the chancellor de Maupeou took care that all money edicts were regiſtered; and the inventive ſpirit of finance, by oppreſſing the people, liberally ſupplied the profuſion of the court. The holy deference of the king for the ſee of Rome was ſoothed by ceding to Pope Ganganelli, Avignon, and the county of Venaiſſin, which had been re-claimed in the adminiſtration of the duke of Choiſeul. The marquis of Monteynard was, by the intrigues of the duke d'Aiguillon, diſmiſſed from the war department; and the latter nobleman, by the fond partiality of the ſovereign, was inveſted with the ſpoils of the diſgraced miniſter.

But in the moment of ſatiety, the mind of Lewis ſtill appeared impreſſed with ſettled melancholy; the ſudden death of the marquis de Chauvelin, the companion of his ſenſual exceſſes, ſtrongly affected him; and the ſubſequent fate of mareſchal d'Armentiers, who expired in a ſimilar manner, and who was nearly the ſame age as the monarch, increaſed his gloomy ſenſations. He was ſenſible of the daily diminution of his ſtrength; even the charms of the counteſs du Barri could no longer excite deſire; and though that lady ſtill retained her influence, new objects were requiſite to rouze the languid powers of the king. To provide theſe was the inceſſant care of the counteſs; and her aſſiduity in this office, proved at once fatal to her own grandeur, and the life of her royal ſlave. A. D. 1774.

A new beauty who was introduced into the bed of the monarch, communicated to the deſpoiler of her innocence the fatal ſeeds of diſeaſe. The ſymptoms of the ſmall pox already appeared on the king, and by the advice of his phyſicians he was haſtily removed

removed from Trianon to Verſailles. The danger hourly increaſed; and Lewis, appriſed of the nature of his diſorder, found, with the approach of death, the ſenſe of religion return; he deſired that the counteſs du Barri, who had officiouſly attended him, might be removed; he received the ſacrament; and declared his intention to exert himſelf ever after for the maintenance of religion, and the happineſs of his people.

But it was not permitted to him to evince the ſincerity of theſe declarations; the ignorance of his phyſicians co-operated with the virulence of the diſeaſe; a momentary change for the better was ſucceeded by certain indications of ſpeedy diſſolution; and eight days after the firſt attack, that monarch cloſed a reign of fifty-nine, and a life of ſixty-five years.

Such was the fate of Lewis the Fifteenth, who at length fell a victim to thoſe ſenſual appetites, in the gratification of which he had ſacrificed his own fame and the welfare of his ſubjects. The enviable appellation of *well-beloved*, which had been conferred in the moment of danger by a lively and enthuſiaſtic people, was effaced by thirty years of laſcivious exceſs, profuſion, and rapacity; his example had looſened the bands of morality, his prodigality had exhauſted the credit and reſources of his country, and his wanton pride had trampled upon the remnant of the conſtitution. His affections ſeemed to have been confined within the narrow limits of his perſonal pleaſures and ſecurity; the marchioneſs of Pompadour, who ſo long enjoyed his confidence and ſhared his embraces, expired without a ſigh of regret from the monarch, who, during her life, had obeyed and adored her; and the death of his ſon, the dauphin, was received without any mark of emotion by the royal inſenſible. It was by inceſſantly ſuggeſting to him his perſonal

ſonal danger, that the counteſs du Barri ſtimulated him to the deciſive meaſure of ſuppreſſing the ancient parliaments of France: But though concealed from the public eye, the embers of freedom were ſtill carefully cheriſhed; the magnanimity of thoſe aſſemblies had awakened new ideas in the boſoms of the French; they were taught by the late remonſtrances to conſider their inherent rights; and the glorious flame, in the ſucceeding reign, burſt forth with accumulated force, and overwhelmed the throne of deſpotiſm.

CHAPTER XLI.

Lewis the Sixteenth aſcends the Throne of France—Removes the late Miniſters—Suppreſſes the new, and recalls the ancient Parliament of Paris.—Final reduction of Corſica.—Diſputes between Great-Britain and her Colonies.—Dearth and diſturbances in France.—Coronation of the King.—War between Spain and the Emperor of Morocco.—Rupture between Great-Britain and the Americans.—Suppreſſion of the Mouſquetaires.—Monſieur Necker nominated to the direction of the Finances.—The Americans declare themſelves free and independent ſtates.—Privately ſupported by Lewis.—Viſit of the Emperor of Germany to Paris.—Progreſs of the War in America.—Defeat and capture of General Burgoyne.

A. D. 1774. LEWIS the Sixteenth, at the age of twenty, ſucceeded to the throne of his grandfather; and whatever ſatisfaction might ariſe from the ſplendid proſpect before him, was alloyed by the general diſtreſs that preſented itſelf throughout the kingdom. Domeſtic cares were added to thoſe of the public; the contagious diſorder of which the late king died, had been communicated to his three daughters, the princeſſes Adelaide, Sophia, and Victoire; a general conſternation took place; the people trembled for the ſafety of the king and his brothers; and it was ſcarcely deemed an improbable event, that the whole royal family might have been ſwept off by that fatal peſt, which had ſo long been its inveterate enemy.

But theſe fears were of ſhort duration; the princeſſes recovered from the natural diſorder; and the king, with the two princes, his brothers, and the counteſs

counteſs d'Artois, wife of the younger, were all inoculated at the ſame time, and were ſoon releaſed from any apprehenſions by the eaſe and ſafety of the operation; their example contributed to remove the prejudices againſt that important diſcovery, and to extend the practice from the court throughout the provinces of France.

The health of Lewis was no ſooner confirmed, than he diligently applied himſelf to extinguiſh the diſcontent and alleviate the calamities of his people. He immediately determined to remove thoſe perſons from office whoſe errors, or oppreſſive conduct, had rendered them diſagreeable to the nation; he recalled the count of Maurepas, who had formerly occupied the marine department, but who had been baniſhed from the court for three and twenty years, and whoſe ability and integrity had been eſteemed and recommended by the deceaſed dauphin. This ſtateſman, however, declined the reſumption of his former ſtation; and with a ſeat in the privy council, without any particular office, influenced the moſt important concerns of government.

The counteſs du Barri, whoſe aſcendency over the paſſions of the late monarch had occaſioned ſo many evils, was permitted to ſhelter herſelf in contempt and obſcurity; ſeveral ladies, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their ſervile aſſiduities to her, were baniſhed from the royal circle; while the ducheſs of Grammont enjoyed at once the diſgrace of her enemy, and the favour of the preſent ſovereign; ſhe was recalled to court by a letter from the young queen herſelf, and was treated with every mark of diſtinction and honour.

At length the duke d'Aiguillon reſigned his office of prime miniſter, and the chancellor de Maupeou, who had divided with him the hatred of France, was diſmiſſed from his high and important truſt; yet, even on this occaſion, the moderation of the king

was conſpicuous; the puniſhment of Maupeou was limited to the loſs of his employment; he was permitted to retire to the noble eſtate which he had acquired in Normandy, and to enjoy without reſtraint the ſpoils of an oppreſſed people. The ſeals were delivered to monſieur Miromenil, preſident of the parliament of Rouen; the count of Vergennes, who had filled with reputation the poſt of ambaſſador to the courts of Conſtantinople and Stockholm, was called to preſide over the foreign department; and the count of Muy, afterwards created mareſchal, was nominated ſecretary of war.

The diſmiſſal of the duke d'Aiguillon had filled the partizans of the duke of Choiſeul with the higheſt exultation; their ardent fancy beheld him again inveſted with ſupreme authority, and extending his negociations into the different courts of Europe; but whether the enterpriſing genius of that nobleman was deemed inconſiſtent with the preſent pacific ſyſtem, or that the ſubordinate miniſters dreaded his haughty ſpirit, and ſilently traverſed his return to power, the hopes of his adherents were ſuffered gradually to ſubſide: He was indeed recalled to court, and ſhared with his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Grammont, the ſmiles of his ſovereign; but theſe favours were only extended to him as a private perſon, and he was ſedulouſly excluded from all participation in public affairs.

A ſtill more popular ſtep was an edict publiſhed in the name of the king, in which he engaged to pay unremitting attention to the management of the finances; to reſtore the diſcharge of the public debt, which had been intercepted by his predeceſſor; and to make full compenſation to thoſe who had ſuffered by that injurious meaſure. At the ſame time ſeveral ſchemes of œconomy were introduced; and though theſe were more pleaſing in their appearance than beneficial in their effects, yet the people received with

with tranſport, plans which promiſed ſome future attention to their happineſs, and at leaſt a deſire to deliver them from the burdens under which they groaned. The price of bread, which had alſo riſen to an exceſſive height, was reduced by the prudent management of the miniſters; and thoſe who in the confuſion of the laſt reign had treaſured up the corn in their granaries, were now purſuaded to bring it to market.

Such attentions could not fail to command the gratitude of the populace, and whenever the monarch appeared in public, he was attended by the acclamations of the multitude; yet one circumſtance was wanting to eſtabliſh the general joy, and France ſtill panted after the reſtoration of her ancient parliaments. When the ſolemn funeral ſervice for the late king was performed in the abbey church of St. Denys, the new parliament was ſummoned to attend the ceremonial; but the duke of Orleans refuſed to appear, or to act in any manner in conjunction with that body. In a letter to the king he avowed his reaſons for abſenting himſelf; and the monarch, diſguſted with this unexpected oppoſition, and uncertain what effect it might produce upon the other princes of the blood, exiled the duke of Orleans, with his ſon the duke of Chartres, from his court.

The people, who had flattered themſelves that the diſmiſſal of the obnoxious miniſters would have been attended by the reſtoration of their idol, the parliament, were ſtunned by this ſtroke; they conſidered the two dukes as victims to the public good; the general diſcontent immediately revived: and Lewis, when next he preſented himſelf to the inhabitants of the metropolis, inſtead of the uſual marks of applauſe, was received in awful ſilence; dejection was ſtrongly painted in every countenance; and the young monarch ſoon perceived that he could

could only reign in the hearts of his ſubjects by a ready compliance with their wiſhes.

Preparations were immediately made to ſooth the anxious minds of an enthuſiaſtic people; the duke of Orleans was again invited to join the royal councils, and his preſence gave confidence to their reſolutions. The lettres de cachet which had been iſſued againſt the members of the ancient parliament were revoked; guards were poſted, to ſecure the obnoxious perſons who compoſed the preſent from the rage of the populace; and the king, after attending divine ſervice, went to the great chamber of parliament, accompanied by his brothers, by the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, the other prince of the blood, and the great officers of ſtate, and commanded the edict to be regiſtered which re-eſtabliſhed the ancient parliaments, and for ever ſuppreſſed the new.

But though the prudence of Lewis had ſuggeſted to him this compliance with the ardent deſires of his ſubjects, he endeavoured ſtill to preſerve pure and undiminiſhed the royal authority, and was equally averſe with his predeceſſor to granting to theſe popular aſſemblies any power that could poſſibly circumſcribe his own. He explained his intentions by the ſpeech in which he addreſſed that auguſt body. The ſtep that he had taken to enſure the tranquillity and happineſs of his ſubjects, ought not, he obſerved, to invalidate his own authority; and he hoped, from the zeal and attachment of the preſent aſſembly, an example of ſubmiſſion to the reſt of his ſubjects. Their repeated reſiſtance to the commands of his grandfather had compelled that monarch to maintain his prerogative by their baniſhment; and they were now recalled, in the expectation that they would quietly exerciſe their functions, and diſplay their gratitude by their obedience. He concluded with declaring, that it was his deſire

to

to bury in oblivion all paſt grievances; that he ſhould ever behold with extreme diſapprobation whatever might tend to create diviſions and diſturb the general tranquillity; and that his chancellor would read his ordinance to the aſſembly, from which they might be aſſured he would not ſuffer the ſmalleſt deviation to be made.

That ordinance was couched in the moſt explicit terms, and was immediately regiſtered by the king's command: The articles of it limited within very narrow bounds the pretenſions of the parliament of Paris; the members were forbidden to look upon themſelves as one body with the other parliaments of the kingdom, or to take any ſtep, or aſſume any title, that might tend towards, or imply, ſuch an union: They were enjoined never to relinguiſh the adminiſtration of public juſtice, except in caſes of abſolute neceſſity, for which the firſt preſident was to be reſponſible to the king; and it was added, that on their diſobedience the Grand Council might replace the parliament, without any new edict for the purpoſe.

They were ſtill however permitted to enjoy the right of remonſtrating before the regiſtering of any edicts or letters patent, which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preſerved in their repreſentations the reſpect due to the throne. But theſe remonſtrances were not to be repeated; and the parliament, if they proved ineffectual, were to regiſter the edict objected to within a month at fartheſt from the firſt day of its being publiſhed: They were ſtrictly forbidden to iſſue any arrets which might excite trouble, or in any manner retard the execution of the king's ordinances; and they were aſſured by the king himſelf, at the concluſion of this code for their future conduct, that as long as they adhered to the bounds preſcribed, and attempted not to enlarge the power granted to them,

that

that they might depend upon his protection and countenance.

Such were the terms on which Lewis conſented to reſtore the ancient parliaments of his kingdom; and while he delivered himſelf from the odium that involved his predeceſſor, he reduced the authority of thoſe aſſemblies which had ſhaken the infant throne of Lewis the Fourteenth. Yet the conceſſions of the parliament may be vindicated as prudent and politic; they had to contend with a young monarch, poſſeſſed of the affections of the people, and whoſe ſhort reign had not yet allowed them an opportunity of changing their opinions. Moſt of the members had purchaſed their places at a conſiderable expence; and though their zeal amidſt the popular applauſe had triumphed over every other conſideration, yet they could not be entirely indifferent to the honours and affluence they had renounced. Each day more firmly eſtabliſhed the juriſdiction that had been erected on their ruins; and ſhould a continuance of their abſence gradually extinguiſh the regard of the Pariſians, they were ſenſible the jealouſy of the crown would ever afterwards preclude their recall from exile; but if once reinſtated in their dignities and the adminiſtration of juſtice, new opportunities might offer of re-aſſerting the power they had ſurrendered.

Even in the firſt moments of their return, they diſplayed a ſpirit unſubdued by adverſity; the article reſpecting remonſtrances was darkly and doubtfully worded, and they already aſpired to their former pretenſions; but their infant oppoſition was cruſhed by the deciſion of the monarch, and the anſwers to one of their repreſentations, *That he muſt be obeyed*, was concluſive.

It was not only the parliament that ſilently bowed before the majeſty of the new ſovereign: The archbiſhop of Paris had renewed the commotions of the bull

bull Unigenitus, and had oppoſed the adminiſtration of the ſacrament; but he was vanquiſhed by the ſtern juſtice of the king, who declared, that inſtead of conſigning him to that exile which the late monarch had repeatedly inflicted, on his again diſturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom he would give him over to the utmoſt rigour of the law.

The provincial parliaments of Beſançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thouloufe, and Britanny, that had been ſuppreſſed by the deceaſed monarch, were alſo reſtored by the preſent; and unanimity eſtabliſhed at home, France had leiſure to direct her attention to her late conqueſt of Corſica, which ſtill ſtruggled to throw off the yoke, and reſume her native independence.

To juſtify the ſeverities which were afterwards practiſed againſt thoſe brave but unfortunate iſlanders, the court of Verſailles had induſtriouſly circulated a rumour of dark and bloody conſpiracy. But as no detail of this plot has been given, the reality of it has ever been queſtioned; and it is more than probable, the revolt of the Corſicans originated in the oppreſſion of their governors, and was the reſult of momentary indignation, rather than the conſequence of any ſettled plan: Whatever was the ſource of it, the effects were fatal to that unhappy people; ſome tranſient ſucceſſes in the firſt deſultory hoſtilities, were ſoon effaced by a ſeries of ſanguinary chaſtiſements. The new miniſters were deſirous of diſplaying their vigour and activity; freſh reinforcements were continually poured into the iſland; and the inmoſt receſſes of that mountainous country were penetrated by the perſeverance, and overwhelmed by the numbers of the victors: Thoſe who had appeared moſt forward in oppoſing the government of France, atoned for their imprudence by the loſs of their lives; and great part of their followers, who had been excited to arms by their raſh ſuggeſtions,

tions, were tranſported to the Weſt India iſlands, and condemned to perpetual ſlavery.

In the final reduction of Corſica, France had ſeized the moment of favourable enterpriſe; and her ancient and formidable rival, England, was diverted from attending to her conduct, by her own more momentous and immediate concerns. The laſt war, which had ſo deeply wounded the glory and power of the houſe of Bourbon, had eſtabliſhed the dominion of the Engliſh over North America; but with an extent of territory that people ſeem not to have poſſeſſed, or to have cultivated the affections of their coloniſts. The idea of impoſing various taxes on the Americans had been alternately adopted and abandoned; it was now finally determined to be enforced, and the miniſters of Great Britain proclaimed their reſolution of drawing a ſettled revenue from their valuable dependencies acroſs the Atlantic. A ſmall duty was laid upon tea; but even this, trifling as it amounted to, was ſpurned at by the Americans; aſſociations were formed, and ſubſcriptions cheerfully entered into; and on the arrival of the ſhips that were freighted with the obnoxious Commodity, ſeveral of them were boarded by parties of men diſguiſed as Mohawk Indians, who, without committing any other act of violence, inſtantly threw the tea overboard; the captains of the other ſhips, alarmed for the intereſt of their owners, thought it moſt prudent to avoid riſking a ſimilar loſs, and ſteered back their courſe to England.

Theſe tumultuous proceedings in America were heard with reſentment by the miniſters of Great Britain; and it was determined ſeverely to chaſtiſe the town and port of Boſton, which had been diſtinguiſhed as the ſcene of outrage. The Britiſh parliament condemned the town of Boſton to pay for the tea thus deſtroyed; and as a further puniſhment, they reſolved to deprive it of the privilege of a port,

port, until the ſovereign ſhould be ſatisfied of the diſpoſition of the inhabitants to carry on trade quietly, obey the laws, and ſubmit to the duties impoſed; until that ſhould appear, the cuſtom-houſe of Boſton, and conſequently the commerce, was to be removed to Salem, a port about ſeventeen miles diſtance.

This act of regulation was ſucceeded by another for the better government of Maſſachuſetts Bay, the province in which Boſton is ſituated. The bill for that purpoſe, altered entirely the form of conſtitution throughout the province; it took the whole executive power out of the hands of the people, and veſted the nomination of judges, counſellors, and magiſtrates of all kinds, in the crown, and in ſome caſes in the king's governor; and to give weight to theſe innovations, General Gage, an officer who had long ſerved in America with reputation, was ſent out as governor of the province with a conſiderable military force.

But the Americans received with indignation, inſtead of ſubmiſſion, the bill that had been framed for their coercion; at Boſton they reſolved to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from the Eaſt Indies, and Great Britain, until their grievances ſhould be fully redreſſed; and they ſtrongly recommended every poſſible encouragement to be given to the manufactures of their own country. The other provinces of the continent, whoſe jealouſy of the ſuperior trade of Boſton, it was ſuppoſed, would have allured them to a concurrence in meaſures calculated for its depreſſion, diſplayed a ſimilar ſpirit of reſiſtance: A general alarm was ſpread from one end of North America to the other; meetings were held in every town; and theſe numerous aſſemblies all agreed in expreſſing their dread, that their grants and charters, with all their rights and civil immunities, might be extinguiſhed by the breath of parliament. Even Salem, the

town

town to which the government and trade of Boſton was to have been transferred, diſdained to profit by the ſpoils of her oppreſſed brethren, and joined in the general reprobation of the injuſtice of Great Britain.

The new judges who had been appointed by the mother country were every where rendered incapable of proceeding in their office; upon opening the courts the juries throughout the provinced refuſed to be ſworn, and rejected any other eſtabliſhment than what had been warranted by the ancient laws and uſages of their country; an end was put to all forms of law and government, and the province of Maſſachuſetts Bay was relinquiſhed to the ſame independent anarchy as had exiſted in the earlieſt ages. At length the twelve colonies that ſtretch from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and are diſtinguiſhed by the names of New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode Iſland, Providence, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, animated by one ſpirit, nominated deputies to repreſent them in a general congreſs. This was held in Philadelphia, the capital of Penſylvania; and their firſt reſolution was an approbation of the conduct of Maſſachuſetts-Bay, and a determination that if force ſhould be employed to carry the acts againſt that province into execution, all America ſhould join in the defence of it. They unanimouſly concurred in diſcouraging all goods imported from Great Britain, and they ſtrongly exhorted the inhabitants to countenance their own manufactures: To this was ſubjoined an energetic addreſs to the French inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to join the ſtandard of freedom, and to render complete the confederacy of the continent of North America.

While the diſcontents of the colonies of Great Britain aſſumed the form of ſerious reſiſtance, the empreſs

empreſs of Ruſſia was employed in terminating a long and ſucceſsful war which ſhe had maintained againſt the Ottoman Porte. The haughty ſpirits of the Moſlems had been broken by repeated defeats; their camp preſented a diſguſting ſcene of mingled terror and mutiny; and the Divan at length condeſcended to ſubſcribe a treaty which exalted the glory of one empire as much as it debaſed the other. The independency of the Crimea was eſtabliſhed; the diſtricts of Kilburn, Kerche, and Jenickala, with the extenſive country between the Bog and the Dnieper, were ceded to Ruſſia; and a free navigation was granted to the Ruſſians in all the Turkiſh ſeas, in which was included the paſſage of the Dardanelles, with all the privileges and immunities which had been allowed to the moſt favoured nations. With equal ſucceſs Catharine at the ſame time extinguiſhed a rebellion which had been excited in the ancient kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan: The impoſtor, who had aſſumed the name and title of Peter the Third, was taken, and ſuffered the juſt puniſhment of his preſumption; a few examples in the places moſt remarkable for their diſaffection were neceſſarily made, but the clemency of the empreſs ſoon after extended a general pardon to the obſcure and miſguided multitude.

The death of pope Ganganelli, who had filled the apoſtolical chair with prudence and moderation, was an event generally regretted by the countries which yet acknowledged the dominion of the holy ſee. His pontificate had been rendered memorable by the abolition of the ſociety of Jeſus; and a vague and idle rumour pervaded Europe, that he had fallen a ſacrifice to the poiſonous arts and reſentment of that order. The falſehood of this charge was proved by the united teſtimony of the different miniſters of the houſe of Bourbon: Theſe were preſent at the opening of the body; and the phyſicians and ſurgeons

geons who aſſiſted at the operation, pronounced his deceaſe to be the effect of a gradual and natural decay. Though the authority of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter have long been diſregarded by the enlightened nations of Europe, yet the vacant dignity was warmly conteſted; and it was not till the enſuing year that the votes of the conclave fixed the tiara on the head of John Angelo Braſchi, a native of Ravenna in the Romagna, and who aſſumed the name of Pius the Sixth.

Though Lewis could not behold without ſecret ſatisfaction the diſturbances in America, which menaced the grandeur of Great Britain, yet the tranquillity and happineſs of his own kingdom were far from being eſtabliſhed; the wounds which had been inflicted by the ſupine profuſion of the late monarch, ſtill required time to heal; and the elevation of monſieur Turgot to the chief direction of finances, afforded no ſmall diſcontent to the powerful body of the farmers-general. That miniſter, endued with integrity and ability, had delivered the commerce of grain from many injudicious reſtrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation; but the ſcarcity of corn happened to coincide with the moment of his regulations, and thoſe effects which aroſe from dearth were aſcribed to the innovations he had ſuggeſted. His ſecret enemies induſtriouſly circulated rumours, that the public diſtreſs was the conſequence of certain political combinations; and the people, whoſe real miſery was augmented by an idea of the incapacity and injuſtice of their rulers, tumultuouſly aſſembled in large and formidable bodies. They inſulted the magiſtrates, plundered the houſes, and in the commiſſion of theſe outrages not only deſtroyed vaſt quantities of corn and flour, which might have alleviated their wants, but increaſed the general diſtreſs by deterring the proprietors A. D. 1775.

proprietors of proviſions from bringing them to market. A diſtemper which had extended its fatal ravages amongſt the cattle through the heart of the kingdom, added to the public gloom; and at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, the inſurrection of the populace was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. The unhappy people, ſtimulated by want, and inflamed to madneſs, had pillaged the houſe of the intendant, who with difficulty eſcaped from their fury. To check their progreſs, it was neceſſary to ſummons to the ſupport of government a body of regular troops; yet the hungry inſurgents for ſome time maintained their ground againſt the diſciplined valour of their adverſaries; and it was not till near five hundred of theſe miſerable wretches had fallen, that they relinquiſhed the ineffectual conflict.

The capital itſelf was not exempt from ſimilar diſtreſs and diſorders; and Lewis, after having in vain endeavoured to ſooth the turbulent miſery of the people by the mildeſt remonſtrances, now prepared to repreſs their outrages by the moſt deciſive meaſures. He ordered the parliament of Paris to attend him at Verſailles; and after repreſenting to them the immediate exigency which compelled him to deviate from the uſual courſe of juſtice, he expreſsly forbade them from making any repreſentations on the ſteps that he was determined to purſue: That auguſt body ſeemed indeed ſenſible of the neceſſity of adopting ſome quick and vigorous ſyſtem, and ſilently acquieſced under the mandate of their ſovereign.

The king having thus fortified the royal authority by the ſilent approbation of his parliament, commiſſioned the Marechauſſee, a military body dependent on the police, to diſperſe the ſeditious multitude, and to execute ſummary juſtice on the moſt guilty. At the ſame time a pardon was held out to thoſe who ſhould retire home, and make reſtitution

for

for the corn they had taken away. The good effects of theſe regulations were ſoon diſcernible; numbers endeavoured to efface their miſconduct by reimburſing the perſons whom they had plundered; a few atoned for their crimes under the hands of the executioner; and a plentiful harveſt which enſued, baniſhed the diſtreſs of the people, and confirmed the tranquillity of France.

To divert the minds of his ſubjects from the late gloomy ſcenes of miſery, the king reſolved to celebrate his coronation with royal magnificence at Rheims. The liberality of the clergy opportunely ſupplied a gift of twenty millions of livres; and the ancient dignities of the kingdom were revived on this occaſion. The count de Provence repreſented the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Artois the duke of Normandy, the duke of Orleans, the duke of Aquitaine, the duke of Chartres the count of Thouloufe, the prince of Condé the count of Flanders, and the duke of Bourbon the count of Champagne.

The marriage of the princeſs Clotilda, ſiſter to the king of France, to the prince of Piedmont, eldeſt ſon of the king of Sardinia, was an event but little intereſting in modern politics. The courts of Paris and Turin had long been joined in the cloſeſt connection; and the futility of theſe alliances, unleſs the mutual advantage of both parties cemented their ſubſequent union, had been too often experienced to occaſion any alarm to the other powers of Europe.

The humanity of Lewis was conſpicuouſly diſplayed in an edict which he cauſed to be regiſtered in parliament, and which in future ſentenced the deſerters from his army to work as ſlaves on the public roads, inſtead of puniſhing them as formerly with death; and with equal attention to the general welfare of his ſubjects, he ſeized the moment of peace

peace to reduce part of his numerous forces, and to fulfil thoſe promiſes of œconomy which on his acceſſion he had given to his people. The death of the mareſchal de Muy, who filled the poſt of ſecretary at war, was ſucceeded by the appointment of the count de St. Germain to the vacant department: That nobleman, during the laſt war, had enjoyed a high military command in Germany; and the prince and his ſubjects were alike impreſſed with the moſt favourable opinion of his genius and application.

While one royal branch of the houſe of Bourbon thus emerged from the clouds that had obſcured its glory, the other ſtill more eminently diſplayed the weakneſs of its government, and the deficiency of its judgment. Charles the Third, king of Spain, was aroufed from his peaceful ſlumber by the hoſtile inſults of a barbarian, who ruled over part of Africa, and who ſtiled himſelf emperor of Morocco. This mooriſh prince, without any pretence of injury, in a letter to the king of Spain, declared himſelf enjoined by the laws of the Alcoran to expel the Chriſtians from the forts that they held on the African coaſt; at the ſame time that he profeſſed his wiſh in every other reſpect to maintain the peace that he ſubſcribed to with the court of Madrid, and to preſerve inviolate the commercial intercourſe of the two nations.

This ſingular manifeſto of Mahomed Ben Abdalla was anſwered by the court of Madrid by a declaration of war; but before Spain could tranſport her forces to this diſtant ſcene of conteſt, the Mooriſh prince, with a numerous and ill-diſciplined army, had laid ſiege to Melilla, in the kingdom of Fez, on the ſhores of the Mediterranean, and oppoſite to Almeria in Spain. Though that fortreſs was in every reſpect but badly provided, yet the conſtancy and conduct of the governor repelled the

desultory attacks of the assailants; and the emperor, after having continued the blockade for some months, retired from the inauspicious walls.

If Spain had been tardy in affording succour to the distress of her subjects in Africa, her preparations to avenge the insult were proportioned to the length of time that had been employed in making them. Twenty-six thousand of the best troops of that kingdom, supplied with every engine for offensive or defensive war, were embarked on board four hundred transports. These were escorted by seven ships of seventy-four guns, eight of forty, and thirty-two frigates. This formidable armament, which threatened to overwhelm all Africa, after a tedious voyage, cast anchor in the Bay of Algiers; and the count O'Reilly, to whom the command of the land-forces were entrusted, determined immediately to commence his operations.

While the ships diverted the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack on the town of Algiers, four thousand of the Spanish infantry were successfully landed; but these, instead of obeying the commands of their general, and patiently awaiting the junction of their companions, rushed to the encounter with the Moors, and were received with a degree of firmness that was little expected. The consequence of this presumption was what might have been easily foreseen; as fast as fresh troops were landed, they hastened to the support of their friends, already engaged; and the advantages of skill and discipline were renounced in a combat which was only distinguished by desperate courage and blind fury. For thirteen hours the sense of national honour supported the Spaniards against myriads of their enemies at length, after the loss of near four thousand of their best troops, they were obliged to retire under shelter of the cannon of their ships: Notwithstanding the fatigues they had undergone in

in the courſe of the day, it was deemed prudent to avail themſelves of the night for a ſpeedy embarkation; and an armament that was conſidered ſo ſuperior to the object of its deſtination as to awaken the jealouſy of the European powers, returned to Spain, baffled and defeated by naked and undiſciplined barbarians.

Whatever concern Lewis might feel for the diſgrace of the kindred throne of Spain, was amply compenſated by the difficulties in which he obſerved the ancient rival of France rapidly involving herſelf. The language of reſiſtance adopted by America had not ſhaken the reſolution of the miniſters of Great-Britain, and the eyes of Europe were impatiently turned on the approaching conteſt. The inhabitants of Rhode-Iſland were no ſooner informed of the prohibition to export military ſtores from Great-Britain, than they ſeized on the ordnance belonging to the crown in that diſtrict, and openly avowed their intention, in this act of violence, was to defend themſelves againſt any power that ſhould preſume to moleſt them. Their example was followed by the people of New-Hampſhire, who ſurpriſed a ſmall fort, called William and Mary, and ſupplied themſelves with a quantity of ammunition.

General Gage did not behold with indifference theſe acts of outrage; and on information that ſome braſs cannon were depoſited in the town of Salem, he detached a body of troops, commanded by a field-officer, to ſeize them; but the canon had already been removed: A ſubſequent detachment of nine hundred men, for the ſame purpoſe, was directed to penetrate to Lexington; the march of theſe were interrupted by the Provincials, who had taken the alarm, and began to aſſemble. They were diſperſed by ſome ſhots fired from the regulars, and a few of the Americans were wounded and kill-

ed. The adjacent country was in a moment ſummoned to the ſupport of their friends; their increaſing numbers preſſed upon the Britiſh troops, who effected their retreat with conſiderable loſs and difficulty; it is probable indeed the whole detachment muſt have been cut off, had not the prudence of general Gage, apprehenſive of the event, directed a more conſiderable body to haſten to their relief. Strengthened by this reinforcement, they continued their march; and amidſt a variety of deſultory attacks, and with ſome additional loſs, reached Boſton.

The attempt on Lexington excited the indignation of the whole province; the people immediately flew to arms, and Boſton was inveſted by twenty thouſand men, under the command of colonel Putnam, an officer who had acquired experience and reputation in the two laſt wars. But general Gage in the interval had been joined by the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with a conſiderable body of troops from England; and it was determined to drive the Americans from ſome works which they had erected on Bunker's Hill, an height that commanded the town of Boſton. This ſervice was committed to the generals Howe and Clinton, at the head of two thouſand ſelect ſoldiers; they were received with a firmneſs that might have ſtaggered the moſt veteran troops; and it was not till the loſs of half their number in killed and wounded, that their perſevering valour triumphed over the obſtinacy of their enemies, and drove the Americans from their entrenchments.

The general Congreſs at Philadelphia had not in the mean time been idle; the province of Georgia had acceded to the confederacy; and the different ſtates now aſſumed the appellation of the *Thirteen United Colonies*. Mr. Waſhington, a gentleman of fortune in Virginia, and who had fought at

at the head of ſeveral provincial bodies during the laſt war, was nominated commander in chief of all the American forces; the Congreſs alſo fixed the pay both of officers and ſoldiers, the latter of which were provided for with the utmoſt liberality.

But an expedition which was planned by the Americans againſt Quebec, the capital of Canada, was not attended with that ſucceſs which the authors of it fondly expected: They had ſurpriſed and ſwept all the important fortreſſes that commanded the entrance into that province; but in an attempt by a coup-de-main to poſſeſs themſelves of the town, they were repulſed with cruel ſlaughter. General Montgomery, who commanded the aſſailants, and who had been trained to arms in the Britiſh ſervice, fell on this occaſion; colonel Arnold, the ſecond in command, was ſeverely wounded; and the beſiegers, after this check, retired to an awful diſtance, and were content to change the ſiege into a blockade.

While Lewis anxiouſly directed his attention towards America, and watched the gradual progreſs of hoſtility, he was not indifferent to the internal regulation of his own country. The count de St. Germain juſtified the opinion that had been formed of his courage and abilities: and intent only on the advantage of the ſtate, ventured on a reform which menaced him with the reſentment of the moſt noble families of France.

The Mouſquetaires, a corps inſtituted for the protection of the royal perſon, were compoſed of young men of the moſt illuſtrious extraction; and though ſuch a guard muſt have been highly flattering to the dignity of the ſovereign, yet the expence attending it was ſeverely felt, and frequently regretted. The ſuppreſſion of it had been repeatedly agitated; but no miniſter had yet been found ſufficiently hardy to encounter the odium with which it was likely to be attended.

attended. This inſtance of political fortitude was reſerved for the count de St. Germain; he enforced to Lewis the conſiderable ſavings that might be applied from the reduction of a corps, the offspring of pageantry, to the effective marching battalions; an edict was accordingly publiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of the Mouſquetaires; and thoſe brave men, whoſe courage had always been celebrated, received the news of their diſmiſſion with marks of the deepeſt deſpair. Attached to each other by ſimilarity of habits, and cemented in friendſhip by common dangers and ſervice, they regarded the decree that ſeparated them with equal grief, as if it had ſentenced their immediate execution. Monſieur de la Chaiſe, a veteran officer of approved reſolution, and one of their commanders, fainted away on receiving the fatal mandate; and all the reſt vented their ſorrow in the loudeſt and moſt poignant exclamations: But the king and his miniſter were inexorable; and the capital was not ſorry to be delivered from a corps, whoſe impetuous and over-bearing ſpirit too frequently inſulted the more humble claſs of citizens.

A. D. 1776. The naval department was inſpected with equal diligence and care: When the adminiſtration of the duke of Choiſeul expired, and his couſin the duke of Praſlin was diſmiſſed from ſuperintending the marine, that nobleman declared, that he left ſixty-four ſhips of the line in the ports of France, beſides thoſe that were on the ſtocks; this force had not been ſuffered to decline in the preſent reign, and the appointment of Monſieur de Sartine to the marine department did honour to the penetration of the ſovereign. That miniſter, fruitful in reſources, and unwearied in his application, was inceſſantly engaged in augmenting the naval ſtrength of his country; and the various preparations that filled the ports and docks, created no ſmall uneaſineſs to the court of London.

One

One appointment more was ſtill neceſſary to ſtamp the royal mind free from prejudice and open to the impreſſion of merit. Monſieur Turgot, though poſſeſſed of integrity and induſtry, had not been able to command the public confidence: On his retreat, Monſieur Clugny, intendant-general of Bourdeaux, had been elevated to the vacant poſt; on his death, which happened ſoon after, M. Taboureau des Reaux was appointed his ſucceſſor; and Lewis ſoon after aſſociated with him, in the management of the finances, Monſieur Necker, by birth a Swiſs, and by religion a Proteſtant. That gentleman, in the preceding reign, had been choſen to adjuſt ſome differences between the Eaſt India Company and the crown; and had diſcharged his truſt with ſuch rare diſcretion as to challenge the approbation of both parties. Poſſeſſed of diſtinguiſhed and acknowledged abilities, his appointment would have excited no ſurpriſe, had it not been contrary to the conſtant policy of France, which had carefully excluded the aliens of her country and faith from the control of her revenue. It now ſtood forward as a new inſtance of enlargement of mind and liberality of ſentiment; and will to poſterity mark the prominent features of the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth.

With equal zeal to extend the dominion of ſcience, Lewis fitted out ſeveral veſſels on aſtronomical diſcoveries. The Chevalier de Borda was inſtructed to aſcertain the exact poſition of the Canary Iſlands and Cape de Verd; and the different degrees of the coaſt of Africa from Cape Spartel to the iſland of Goree: The chevalier Grenier, who had traverſed the Indian ſeas to improve the charts and correct the errors which had miſled former navigators, was liberally rewarded by a monarch who aſpired to immortalize the æra of his power by expeditions beneficial to mankind.

But

But as often as the eyes of Lewis were recalled, ſo often did they return with increaſe of anxiety to the continent of North America. The conteſt between Great Britain and her colonies became each hour more important, and the humanity and intereſt of European powers were deeply concerned in the event. General Gage, as commander in chief, had been ſuperſeded by general Howe; and that officer, preſſed and cloſely blockaded by the ſuperior numbers of the Americans, determined to quit the narrow limits of the town of Boſton, and to retire to Halifax, until he ſhould be joined by the ſuccours that he expected from England. Though he was permitted to embark his troops without moleſtation, yet the acquiſition of Boſton reflected no ſmall luſtre on the arms of the Americans. Throughout the different provinces, the governors nominated by the king of England, had been almoſt univerſally expelled by the riſing indignation of the inhabitants; each day ſeemed to eſtabliſh more firmly the juriſdiction of the ſtates; their privateers overſpread the ſeas, and captured the rich merchant veſſels of the Engliſh; and Lewis, while he profeſſed to the court of London, a ſtrict neutrality, afforded to the veſſels of America a ſecure refuge in his harbours, where they bartered their ſpoils for arms and ammunition ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of their cauſe.

But Great Britain, however aſtoniſhed by the unexpected reſiſtance of her colonies, determined not to reſign ſo rich a ſovereignty without a ſtruggle: A force was prepared which it was thought muſt look them into ſubmiſſion; large bodies of German troops were hired from the princes of Heſſe Caſſel and Brunſwick, ſovereigns who ſupply the ſplendour of their courts by the blood of their ſubjects; theſe were ſtrengthened by conſiderable detachments from the

the electorate of Hanover, and by a number of Britiſh regiments; and when added to the troops that had been embarked from Boſton, the whole army under general Howe could not be eſtimated at leſs than thirty thouſand men.

Previous to the arrival of theſe reinforcements, general Howe had directed his courſe from the ſterile coaſt of Halifax, and landed his troops on Staten Iſland, in the vicinity of New York. He was there ſucceſſively joined by his brother admiral lord Howe, and the armament from Great Britain. All overtures of accommodation were fruitleſs; the thirteen colonies of America had already declared themſelves free and independent ſtates, and abjured all allegiance to the Britiſh crown; and the ſword alone could terminate the diſpute.

The poſſeſſion of New York would enable Great Britain, by its centrical poſition, either to carry on the war in Connecticut on the eaſtern ſide; or, on the weſtern quarter, to penetrate through New Jerſey to Penſylvania. To reduce that province was therefore the grand object of general Howe, and the operations that he immediately commenced were attended with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs. Though general Waſhington with a numerous army occupied both Long Iſland and New York, yet his ſoldiers were raw and undiſciplined; their officers were ignorant of the art of war, and only inflamed with an enthuſiaſtic love of freedom; and they were aſtoniſhed and confounded by the rapid evolutions and ſuperior ſkill of their adverſaries. The Britiſh forces had firſt landed on Long Iſland, from which the Americans were chaſed with the loſs of above four thouſand of their beſt troops; thence the victorious army, fluſhed with ſucceſs, paſſed over to New York; while general Waſhington, convinced by fatal experience of the inferiority of his ſoldiers, determined

termined to avoid in future any deciſive action, and to protract the war amidſt the woods and wilds with which the country abounds. In purſuance of this plan he abandoned New York without a blow; retired to the higher grounds, and with no ſmall degree of dexterity conſtantly eluded the purſuit of the victor; while general Howe, after haraſſing his troops in fruitleſs attempts to overtake him, returned to reduce the fortreſſes in the neighbourhood of New York, and extended his poſts far into the Jerſeys.

The diſtreſs of Quebec had not eſcaped the vigilance of Great Britain, and an important reinforcement was deſtined to its relief: But before this could arrive, general Carleton, who, as governor of Canada, commanded in that town, ſtrengthened by the marines, and a detachment from ſome ſhips of war that had entered the harbour, had atchieved his own deliverance. The ſmall band of Americans, diſheartened by their former repulſe, and weakened by diſeaſe, was eaſily broken; they retired in diſorder, and the forces of the king of England in Canada, ſwelled by the arrival of the expected regiments to thirteen thouſand men, purſued with vigour the fugitives, and expelled them from that important province.

Hitherto the United States of America had ſuffered a ſeries of heavy and unexpected defeat. One inſtance of ſucceſs alone gleamed through the clouds which obſcured their dawning glory. An attempt had been made on Charles Town, the capital of North Carolina, by commodore Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton, previous to their joining lord and general Howe. But the fort which commanded the paſſage to Charles Town was gallantly defended by colonel Moultrie, an American officer; and general Lee, with a conſiderable body of forces, preſerved

ſerved his communication with the fortreſs, and could at diſcretion augment the garriſon. After a ſevere and furious canonade for ſeveral hours, the Britiſh commodore withdrew his ſhattered veſſels from the action, and relinquiſhed the hopeleſs enterpriſe.

But in the neighbourhood of New York, the advantages of general Howe had been rapid and uninterrupted: Fort Waſhington was taken by aſſault; the garriſon of three thouſand men were made priſoners: ſir Peter Parker and general Clinton reduced Rhode Iſland; and lord Cornwallis, with a ſeparate detachment, penetrated through the Jerſeys, appeared on the Banks of the Delaware, and threatened the ſafety of Philadelphia, the ſeat of the Congreſs.

The loſs which the Americans had ſuſtained by the ſword, by captivity, and by deſertion, though ſevere and diſcouraging, equalled not the embarraſſments that aroſe from the temporary engagements which their ſoldiers had entered into: Theſe were moſtly enliſted for a year only; and unaccuſtomed to reſtraint, at the expiration of that term, they panted to return to their families, and few were prevailed upon to continue in the ſervice. Yet amidſt theſe various difficulties, the mind of general Waſhington was a ſtranger to deſpondency; he continued to obſerve with a vigilant eye the motions of his enemies: Their poſts, in the moment of triumph and ſecurity, had been extended to the Delaware; and the American commander ſuddenly aſſembling a ſmall but ſelect body of men, ſilently marched to attack colonel Rall, a Heſſian officer, who with fifteen hundred Heſſians occupied Trentown, on the banks of that river. The enterpriſe was attended with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs; colonel Rall with a few of his ſoldiers were killed, and near a thouſand were made priſoners:

priſoners: The Britiſh general, taught caution by this chaſtiſement, contracted his poſts; and Philadelphia was for the preſent delivered from a dangerous and hoſtile neighbour.

A. D. 1777. The exultation of France had been openly and conſtantly proportioned to the ſucceſs of the Americans; the princes of the blood and the chief nobility were eager to embark in ſupport of the cauſe of freedom; and the prudence of the king and his moſt confidential miniſters, alone reſtrained their ardour. The fatal events of laſt war were ſtill impreſſed on the mind of Lewis; and he could not readily conſent to expoſe his infant marine in a conteſt with a people who had ſo frequently aſſerted the dominion of the ſeas, and ſo lately broken the united ſtrength of the houſe of Bourbon. Yet he was ſenſible that the opportunity of humbling theſe haughty iſlanders ſhould not be entirely neglected, and that ſome advantages ſhould be taken of the preſent commotions in America. Two agents from the United States, Silas Deane and Doctor Benjamin Franklin, had ſucceſſively arrived at Paris; and though all audience was denied them in a public capacity, ſtill they were privately encouraged to hope that France only waited the proper opportunity to vindicate in arms the freedom and independence of America. In the mean time the military preparations of that kingdom were diligently continued; the American cruizers were hoſpitably received into her ports; artillery and all kinds of warlike ſtores were freely ſold or liberally granted to the diſtreſs of the coloniſts; French officers and engineers, with the connivance of government, entered into their ſervice; and the marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman of affluent fortune, and nearly allied to the illuſtrious houſe of Noailles, under pretence of viſiting ſome relations in Italy, hired a frigate;

and

and impatient to join the ſtandard of Liberty, ſteered towards America: He was received with open arms by the United States, and ſoon after promoted to a principal command.

At this critical juncture, the death of Joſeph the Firſt, king of Portugal, was not a matter of indifference to the houſe of Bourbon. Attached by gratitude and long and intimate connections to the Engliſh, he had a ſhort time previous to his deceaſe, entered into a diſpute with the court of Madrid reſpecting the limits of their different ſettlements in South America. The influence of the king of France had prevented the deſultory hoſtilities that were commenced in that quarter of the globe from communicating to Europe; yet every appearance proclaimed a diſpoſition jealous and inimical; and it is probable that the opportune death of the king, only, deterred Portugal from engaging in an open war with Spain. His eldeſt daughter, the princeſs of Brazil, ſucceeded to the vacant throne: In compliance with the cuſtoms of the court of Liſbon, ſhe had already received in marriage the hand of her own uncle, the brother of her father; and her ſon, the prince of Beira, the preſumptive heir of the crown, had united himſelf to the younger ſiſter of his mother. The new ſovereign immediately applied herſelf to terminate the differences which had originated in the former reign; a perfect good underſtanding was ſoon eſtabliſhed between the two courts; the Iſland of St. Catherine, on the coaſt of Brazil, which had already been reduced by Spain, was inſtantly reſtored; the limits of their ſettlements in South America were amicably aſcertained; and the moſt explicit treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip was finally ratified between the two crowns: Nor could France be totally unconcerned in a negociation which thus converted the ancient foe to the firm ally of the Houſe of Bourbon.

The

The viſit of the emperor of Germany to the court of Paris was another occurrence that excited the attention of Europe. Averſe to pomp, he choſe to travel under the humble title of count Falkenſtein; he was received by Lewis with that reſpect which was due to the imperial dignity and the regard that he was impatient to teſtify to the brother of his royal conſort. During ſix weeks that the emperor remained at Paris, his hours were inceſſantly devoted to examine the various eſtabliſhments of that capital, and in viewing the manufactures; with the ſame ſpirit of enquiry he made a tour through the different provinces of the kingdom, and in his journey endeavoured to glean whatever might be advantageous to his own dominions.

His example was in ſome meaſure imitated by the brothers of Lewis, the counts de Provence and d'Artois: Theſe alſo reſolved to viſit the diſtant diſtricts of France; their liberality and amiable manners commanded, in their progreſs, the eſteem of all ranks of people; they were every where received with unbounded acclamations; and the French, enthuſiaſtic in the admiration of their ſovereign, endeavoured to diſplay their loyalty by the marks of regard which they paid to theſe princes of the blood.

Some changes were about this time introduced into the different departments of ſtate; the conduct of Monſieur Necker in the finances had been attended with univerſal approbation; Monſieur Taboureau des Reaux, his colleague, had reſigned his ſituation, but ſtill retained the dignity of counſellor of ſtate. To afford full ſcope to the genius of Monſieur Necker, Lewis determined no longer to clog him with an aſſociate; but with the title of director-general of finances, ſubmitted to him the entire management of the funds and revenue of France.

The

The ſpirited meaſures of the count de St. Germain in ſuppreſſing the Mouſquetaires have already been remarked. Whether the conſequences were ſuch as every former miniſter had dreaded, and the reſentment of the noble families of France had oppreſſed the ſecretary of war, or that ſtateſman was found, as has been hinted, too intractable in the cabinet, and too partial to his own ſyſtem, has never yet tranſpired; his official ſtation for ſome time, however, had been extremely uneaſy, and he now determined to reſign; his death, in the enſuing year, prevented that recall which probably would have taken place; and the prince de Montbarey, who had already filled an inferior ſituation in that department, was now appointed ſecretary at war.

Lewis was not leſs attentive to his negociations with foreign courts, than he was deſirous of providing the ſtate with able and induſtrious miniſters. He concluded a new treaty of alliance with Switzerland; vigilantly obſerved the motions of the different princes of Germany on the death of the elector of Bavaria; and when cloſely queſtioned by the Engliſh ambaſſador, Lord Stormont, reſpecting the various warlike preparations which were diligently continued through the kingdom, he replied, That at a time when the ſeas were covered with Engliſh fleets and American cruizers, and when ſuch armies were ſent to the New World as had never before appeared there, it became prudent for him alſo to arm for the ſecurity of the colonies, and the protection of the commerce, of France.

The king was not ignorant at the ſame time, that the remonſtrances of Great-Britain, and the importunities of the agents of the United States, would ſoon compel him to adopt ſome deciſive line of conduct. Though general Howe, after the defeat of colonel

colonel Rall, had continued in force at New-York, yet he had abandoned his former deſign of penetrating through the Jerſeys to Philadelphia. With the return of ſpring he determined to proceed againſt that city by ſea, and avail himſelf of the ſuperiority of his naval force. He embarked eighteen thouſand men; and after a tedious voyage entered Cheſapeak Bay; ſailed up the river Elk, as far as it was capable of admitting his tranſports; and landed his troops in the higheſt health and condition.

General Waſhington had not been deceived by the preparatory movements of his military rival, but had early penetrated into his deſigns, and with an army of fifteen thouſand men, had marched to the defence of Philadelphia, and advanced to Brandywine Creek, which, croſſing the country at ſome diſtance from that city, falls into the Delaware. As the Britiſh army moved forwards from the head of the Elk, a variety of ſkirmiſhes took place; and on general Howe paſſing the Brandywine, the American commander relinquiſhed his uſual caution, and hazarded a more deciſive action. On this occaſion, the marquis de la Fayette charged among the foremoſt; and, though wounded, continued to animate the corps that he commanded by his gallant example: But the Americans were at length compelled to yield to the ſuperior ſkill and diſcipline of their enemies; night ſaved their army from a total defeat; and general Waſhington retiring to Cheſter, purſued next day his march to Philadelphia.

Towards that city the Britiſh forces rapidly advanced; and the Americans judged it prudent to abandon without a battle the capital of Penſylvania, and the ſeat of Congreſs. It was immediately occupied by the Engliſh; but the major part of the their army was quartered at German Town, a conſiderable village, about ſix miles diſtant from Philadelphia.

phia. The Congreſs, on quitting Philadelphia, transferred the ſeat of empire to York-Town; and general Waſhington encamped at Skippach Creek, about ſixteen miles from German-Town.

Amidſt theſe various diſaſters one conſolation remained to ſupport the confidence of the United States. In Great-Britain it had been repreſented that the majority of the Americans were ſtill attached to the mother-country, and averſe to the new government; but though general Howe had traverſed a vaſt extent of country, though he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the rich and populous cities of New-York and Philadelphia, yet the active adherents of the Crown were found to be inconſiderable, both in property and numbers; while general Waſhington, after the defeat of Brandywine, had been largely reinforced by the zeal of his party, and now meditated the ſurpriſe of the royal army in its camp at German-Town.

This enterpriſe, though planned and executed with a degree of ability and vigour that reflected honour on the character of the general, was yet unſucceſsful. The Americans indeed penetrated into the middle of German-Town; but by that time the main body of the Engliſh army had taken the alarm, and the raw troops of the States were obliged to give way before the veteran valour of their enemies. The inclemency of the ſeaſon ſoon after ſuſpended their mutual animoſity; the Britiſh forces were quartered in Philadelphia, and the villages adjacent; and general Waſhington, with the army of the States, occupied a ſtrong camp on the banks of the Schuylkill, about ſixteen miles from that city.

If in the ſouth of America the events of the campaign furniſhed matter of triumph to Great-Britain, the United States received ample compenſation by

an advantage on the northern ſide, as deciſive as it was unexpected. After the expulſion of the Americans from Canada, the miniſters of England were determined to purſue their advantages in that quarter; an army of near eight thouſand men was diligently collected, and entruſted to general Burgoyne, an officer who had acquired ſome reputation in the laſt war in Portugal: The chief object of his deſtination was to penetrate from Canada through Albany, to New-York; and ſcattering terror as he paſt, at length to effect a junction with general Howe. His ſucceſs at firſt was rapid and uninterrupted; the Americans, ſeiſed with panic, abandoned Ticonderoga, a ſtrong fort between Lake George and Lake Champlain, and retired precipitately towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudſon's river.

Towards the banks of that river the Britiſh army alſo directed its march; but whether the general himſelf was too dilatory in his motions, or the roads oppoſed inſuperable obſtacles to troops incumbered with heavy baggage and a vaſt train of artillery, certain it is that their progreſs was ſlow and laborious; and the interval was aſſiduouſly employed by the United States in reſtoring the courage of their adherents, and ſummoning their ſcattered forces to their defence. General Arnold, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the attack of Quebec, advanced from Connecticut with a conſiderable corps, and ſeveral pieces of cannon; and general Gates, who had been trained to arms in the Britiſh ſervice, but who had joined the ſtandard of the Americans, ſoon collected a formidable army, to the command of which he was nominated by the Congreſs.

General Burgoyne had no ſooner prepared to paſs Hudſon's River than he was fatally convinced

vinced of the number and ſtrength of his adverſaries. A detachment of near nine hundred men, which had marched into the country to procure a ſupply of cattle, was almoſt totally cut off; and a ſecond, that had been directed to ſupport them, effected their retreat with conſiderable loſs. Yet theſe inauſpicious events did not deter that commander from paſſing the North River near Saratoga; and probably the ſtrict tenor of his orders allowed him not to decline a meaſure pregnant with every ſpecies of calamity. The Americans, under general Gates, were incamped at a ſmall diſtance, at a place called Still Water; and no ſooner did they perceive the approach of the Britiſh forces than they quitted their lines, and preſſed forwards to engage them: The action was long maintained with mutual rage and obſtinacy; at length the troops of the ſtates gave way; but the darkneſs of the night covered their retreat; the victors obtained at an irreparable loſs only the empty honours of the field; while the vanquiſhed, confiding in their numbers, prepared to renew the conflict.

In two ſucceſſive actions the hoſtile armies again encountered each other with ſimilar courage, but with different ſucceſs; and the Britiſh troops in their turn were broken and overwhelmed by the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. Though they recovered their camp, and ſtill maintained ſome appearance of reſiſtance, their ſituation was deſperate: Reduced to half their original number, worn out with toil, and diſtant from all hopes of ſuccour, their general conſented to open a negociation; and an army that had threatened to carry deſtruction through the continent of America, was compelled to pile their

arms before a general of the United States, who, in the name of Congreſs, ſubſcribed a treaty by which the vanquiſhed troops were to be tranſported to England on condition that they did not ſerve again in America during the courſe of the war.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLII.

General ſtate of Europe.—France acknowledges the independence of, and concludes a treaty with, the United States of America.—War with Great Britain.—Count d'Eſtaing ſails for America.—Engagement between count d'Orvilliers and admiral Keppel.—Operations of count d'Eſtaing in America.—Dominica reduced by the marquis of Bouille.—Loſs of St. Lucia.—Repulſe of count d'Eſtaing at that iſland.—Loſs of Pondicherry and the French ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies.—Sentence of count Lally reverſed.—Death of Voltaire.—count d'Eſtaing conquers St. Vincent's and Grenada;—Engages admiral Byron;—Is defeated at the Savannah.—Spain joins the war againſt England.—The combined fleets enter the channel.—Siege of Gibraltar.—Eruption of Veſuvius.

THE ſucceſs of the Americans in the laſt campaign was received at Paris with unbounded exultation; monſieur Sartine, who preſided over the marine department, was impatient to meaſure the naval ſtrength of France with that of Great-Britain; the queen, who had long ſeconded the applications of the agents of the United States, now eſpouſed their cauſe with increaſe of ardour; the pacific inclinations of Lewis were overborne by the ſuggeſtions of his miniſters and the influence of his royal conſort; and it was at length determined openly to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America. A. D. 1778.

The ſituation of Europe at this juncture was peculiarly favourable to the determination of the king of France, and the ambitious views of his council.

council. Some differences between the court of Peterſburgh and the Ottoman Porte, reſpecting the Crimea, threatened a revival of thoſe hoſtilities which had been ſo lately adjuſted; and had the empreſs of Ruſſia been willing, muſt have precluded her from affording any aſſiſtance to the Engliſh. The flames of war had been rekindled between the houſes of Auſtria and Brandenburgh; and the claims of the former to ſome part of the ſucceſſion of the electorate of Bavaria, had ſummoned the rival monarchs to the field. Spain, by the family compact, was bound to accede to the deſigns, and to ſtrengthen the arms of France: Portugal, by her late treaty with Spain, had formed an intimate union with the houſe of Bourbon; and if her weakneſs prevented her from joining the hoſtile confederacy of that family, her neutrality was at leaſt ſecured: While Holland, ſilently occupied in extending her commerce, ſecretly rejoiced at thoſe meaſures which plunged the reſt of Europe in war, and transferred to her ports the advantages of trade.

Such was the ſtate of the moſt conſiderable European powers, whoſe dangerous enmity might have controlled the deſigns of the court of Verſailles; and Lewis, ſatisfied that he had nothing to apprehend from their interference, now turned his whole attention to the approaching conteſt with the ancient rival of his kingdom. For ſome time paſt his internal regulations had proclaimed a degree of wiſdom and liberality rarely to be found in a crown that once had been characteriſed by blind ſuperſtition and jealous deſpotiſm. The elevation of a Proteſtant to the direction of the finances, ſeemed to have breathed a new ſpirit throughout the cabinet; and a royal ordinance was iſſued, that ſuppreſſed ſeveral of thoſe ſacred holidays ſo injurious to the induſtry of the people and the reſources of the ſtate.

Doctor

Doctor Franklin and Silas Deane, who had hitherto acted as private agents, were now acknowledged as public ambaſſadors from the United States of America to the court of Verſailles; and a treaty of amity, and commerce was ſigned between the two powers in the month of February. The principal articles of it, after ſtipulating the mutual advantages of trade and the liberty and ſovereignty of the United States, formed a confederacy againſt Great Britain, or any other power that ſhould preſume to interrupt their commercial intercourſe: They provided alſo againſt either of the contracting powers, ſhould war break out between France and Great Britain during the continuance of the preſent rupture between the United States and England, concluding any truce or peace without the formal conſent of the other firſt obtained; and they finiſhed with an invitation to any other powers that might have received injuries from England, to make a common cauſe with them, and to accede to the preſent alliance.

The duke of Noailles, ambaſſador to the court of London, was in the month of March inſtructed to acquaint the miniſters of Great Britain, that his ſovereign had formally acknowledged the independence of, and ſigned a treaty of commerce with, the United States of America; at the ſame time he declared, that the contracting parties had paid great attention not to ſtipulate any excluſive advantages in favour of France; and that the United States had reſerved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever on the ſame footing of equality and reciprocity: But this ſtipulation was treated by the Engliſh with contempt; and the recall of lord Stormont, their ambaſſador at Verſailles, was the ſignal for the commencement of hoſtilities.

But Lewis had already prepared for this event; and in the month of April the count d'Eſtaing, who during

during the courſe of laſt war had in the Eaſt Indies maintained the glory of his country, ſailed from Toulon with twelve ſhips of the line and four frigates. On board this fleet were embarked eight hundred ſelect ſoldiers; and Silas Deane, who had been deputed by Congreſs to the court of Verſailles, and Conrad Alexander Gerard, ſecretary to the council of ſtate, and appointed miniſter plenipotentiary to the United States of America, accompanied the count on board the Languedoc.

While this armament directed its courſe to the coaſt of America, a more conſiderable fleet was aſſembled at Breſt, to vindicate the ſeas from the enterpriſes of the Engliſh, who had intercepted the trade, and captured the Licorne, a frigate belonging to France. This fleet conſiſted of thirty-two ſhips of the line; the command was entruſted to the count d'Orvilliers; the van was led by the count de Chefault, and the rear was animated by the preſence of the duke of Chartres, by the death of his father now duke of Orleans. Off Uſhant the count d'Orvilliers diſcerned and engaged the Engliſh fleet, equal in force, and commanded by admiral Keppel. The event of the action was indeciſive; the French, on the approach of night, withdrew to their own coaſts; and the Engliſh, ſoon after, retired within their harbours to refit.

But though in this engagement France had acquired no advantage, and by firſt retreating ſeemed to yield the glory of the day to her rival, yet it afforded no inconſiderable triumph to that nation, that ſhe had been able to face without loſs her powerful adverſary on an element that had ſo frequently proved fatal to her. In a letter written by his own hand, the king beſtowed the moſt liberal commendations on the count d'Orvilliers; he condoled with the count de Chefault, who had been wounded in the action; and added, that proper care ſhould be taken

taken of the widows of thoſe who had fallen in ſupporting the honour of his flag. The fleet was once more refitted with all poſſible expedition; the duke of Chartres was raiſed to the command which before had been occupied by the count de Chefault; and count de Guichen ſucceeded to the duke of Chartres; after a cruiſe uninterrupted by the ſight of an enemy, it again re-entered the harbour of Breſt.

In the mean time the count d'Eſtaing purſued his courſe to America; and though his voyage was tedious, yet he arrived in the middle of July in ſight of the Britiſh fleet at Sandy Hook. Since the laſt campaign, the face of affairs in America had undergone a conſiderable change; general Howe had been recalled by the miniſters of Great Britain, and the chief command devolved on general Clinton; that officer had deemed it prudent to evacuate Philadelphia; and general Waſhington, during his retreat to New York, had preſſed cloſe upon his footſteps, and even engaged him with ſome advantage; but the perſevering valour of the Britiſh troops, and the diſobedience of general Lee, an officer of high rank in the ſervice of the States, fruſtrated the hopes of Waſhington: and general Clinton, after a long and toilſome march, reached Naveſink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook; and by the fleet, ſtill commanded by lord Howe, was conveyed to New York.

Count d'Eſtaing had reaſon deeply to regret the unfavourable winds which had prevented him from more ſpeedily reaching the place of his deſtination; had he arrived a few days ſooner, it is more than probable that he would have intercepted the Britiſh tranſports on their paſſage from the Delaware, eſcorted only by two ſhips of the line and ſome frigates; theſe muſt have fallen an eaſy prey to his ſuperior force. From the coaſt of Virginia he now ſteered his courſe towards New York, in expectation

tion of overwhelming lord Howe in the unequal conteſt; but that admiral, whoſe ſquadron was compoſed of only ſix ſhips of ſixty-four guns, three of fifty, with ſome frigates and ſloops, was already in poſſeſſion of the harbour that is formed by Sandy Hook; and the French commander deemed it not expedient to hazard his own large ſhips in the paſſage of the Bar.

He, therefore, immediately ſteered towards Rhode Iſland, the invaſion of which he had planned in concert with the United States. While the French fleet occupied Newport harbour, and the ſeveral inlets to that iſland, general Sullivan, an American officer, landed on the North Point with a conſiderable army: They had ſcarce commenced their joint operations before lord Howe, reinforced by ſeveral ſhips from England, appeared in ſight; and count d'Eſtaing, unwilling to be braved by an enemy ſtill inferior to him in ſtrength, quitted his ſituation in ſearch of naval laurels. The two fleets conteſted, during the firſt day, the weather-gage with rival ſkill; but on the ſecond, when every thing indicated an immediate action, a violent tempeſt aroſe which ſcattered both. It was not till ſeveral days after that the French admiral was able to collect his ſhattered veſſels; and after tranſiently viſiting Rhode Iſland, he ſailed to Boſton to repair the damages that he had ſuſtained.

General Sullivan, deprived of the aſſiſtance of his ally, ſoon after abandoned the attempt on Rhode Iſland; and the reader, perhaps, will not be ſorry for a moment to withdraw from hoſtile fleets and armies, and attend the different negociations which were carried on during their operations. Monſieur Gerard, the plenipotentiary from France, had been received by the Congreſs with every mark of reſpect and regard: But a ſhort time previous to the appearance of that miniſter, commiſſioners from Great Britain

Britain had arrived, impowered to treat with the Congreſs, and effect a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. Theſe commiſſioners were the earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnſtone, with whom was joined the commander in chief, ſir Henry Clinton. They propoſed to conſent to an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land; to extend every freedom to trade that the reſpective intereſts on both ſides ſhould require; to agree that no military force ſhould be kept up in the different ſtates of North America without the conſent of the general Congreſs, or of the particular aſſemblies; to concur in meaſures calculated to diſcharge the debts of America, and to raiſe the credit and value of the paper circulation; to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different ſtates, who ſhould have the privilege of a ſeat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; and, in ſhort, to eſtabliſh the power of the reſpective legiſlatures in each particular ſtate, to ſettle its revenue, its civil and military eſtabliſhments, and to give to the ſtates of North America, acting with great Britain under one common ſovereign, the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was ſhort of a total ſeparation of intereſt, or conſiſtent with that union of force on which their common ſafety depended.

Though the Congreſs had been informed ſome days before of the favourable diſpoſition of the count of Verſailles, and had even received copies of the two treaties of alliance and commerce which had been concluded between France and the United States, yet the terms now offered by Great Britain were the object of ſerious deliberation; Mr. Laurens, the preſident of that aſſembly, had with the approbation of it, refuſed indeed a paſſport to the ſecretary of the commiſſioners; but the papers with which

which he had been charged, were received through a different channel, and the debates on them were reſumed during ſix ſucceſſive days; if the Congreſs, however, were dilatory, they were deciſive in their anſwer. They obſerved, that the commiſſion ſuppoſed the people of thoſe ſtates to be ſubjects to Great Britain, an idea that was totally inadmiſſible: They added, that they were ſtill inclined to peace, notwithſtanding the injuries they had ſuffered during the courſe of the war; that they were ready to enter into a treaty of commerce, not inconſiſtent with treaties already ſubſiſting, when the king of Great Britain ſhould demonſtrate a ſincere diſpoſition for that purpoſe; but the only ſolid proof of that diſpoſition would be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of thoſe ſtates, and the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

This peremptory language precluded all further hopes of negociation, and the diſappointment of the commiſſioners was rendered ſtill more mortifying by the reception that was immediately after given to Monſieur Gerard: But the their publications afforded the marquis de la Fayette another opportunity of diſplaying his vivacity; ſome expreſſions he conceived had fallen from the pens of the commiſſioners injurious to the honour of his country, and he challenged the earl of Carliſle, as chief of the commiſſion, to anſwer for theſe reflections. That noble lord, however, conſidered the propoſal as reſulting from the fire of youth, and declined to grant, in a national concern, that ſatisfaction which has ever been confined to perſonal differences.

If the fortitude of Congreſs in their late reſolutions excited the admiration of Europe, the good faith of that aſſembly, in a previous tranſaction, had not been leſs ſeverely arraigned. The army of general Burgoyne had capitulated, on the expreſs condition that it ſhould be allowed to return to England, but not to bear arms in America during the preſent

preſent war. This ſtipulation had been long artfully eluded; it was now openly violated; and when the tranſports for the conveyance of thoſe troops were aſſembled at Rhode-Iſland, the Congreſs paſſed a reſolution, that the ſoldiers not having delivered up all their accoutrements, the convention was not binding; and continued ſtill to detain them priſoners, notwithſtanding the repeated remonſtrances of the Britiſh commanders.

From the continent of America the flame of war had been rapidly communicated to the Weſt-India iſlands. The marquis of Bouille, governor-general of Martinico, was informed of the defenceleſs ſtate of the iſland of Dominica, which on the late peace had been ceded by France to England. The works had indeed been repaired and augmented by the miniſters of Great-Britain; but theſe deſtitute of a ſufficient garriſon, only enhanced the value of the temptation. Under the cover of ſome frigates and privateers, the marquis landed unexpectedly on that iſland, at the head of two thouſand men: He ſoon overpowered the handful of regulars that had been entruſted with the defence of the forts and batteries; and in the courſe of the ſame day advanced to attack the capital of Reſeau. The garriſon, incapable of reſiſtance, ſolicited terms of capitulation; and the generoſity of the marquis, beſides allowing to the troops all the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, granted to the inhabitants the fulleſt ſecurity for their eſtates and property of every ſort; the maintenance of their rights, privileges, and immunities; and permiſſion to retain their civil and religious government until the concluſion of the war; when, if the iſland ſhould be ceded to France, they were left at liberty to adhere to their political form of government, or to accept that eſtabliſhed in the French iſlands.

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In the ſame quarter France was, in her turn, ſoon after taught to regret the viciſſitudes of war. General Clinton had detached from America a body of troops, under the command of general Grant; and theſe, in their attack on the French iſland of St. Lucia, were ſeconded by a Britiſh fleet under admiral Barrington. The chevalier de Micoud, the French commandant, with his ſmall band of regulars and militia, were ſucceſſively puſhed from poſt to poſt; and his fate appeared inevitable, when his hopes were revived by the unexpected appearance of the French fleet, commanded by count d'Eſtaing.

That officer had diligently occupied every moment at Boſton ſince the tempeſt that had ſeparated him from lord Howe, in refitting and revictualling his ſhips; he had received on board a body of land forces, amounting to near eight thouſand men; and had ſailed with lively expectation of overwhelming in his courſe all the Britiſh Leeward Iſlands. In his paſſage he received intelligence of the attempt on St. Lucia; and was not diſpleaſed at an expedition which he flattered himſelf would be the means of throwing an eaſy prey into his hands, the whole Britiſh force by land and by ſea. His own fleet conſiſted of twelve large ſail of the line, beſides frigates; that of admiral Barrington, one of ſeventy-four, one of ſeventy, one of ſixty-four, two of fifty, and three frigates. Yet the French admiral could not entirely conceal his chagrin at the precautions that his adverſary had taken, and the ſecurity he derived from his poſition in the harbour. He determined, however, to riſk the event, in hopes that his formidable force might ſtrike terror into the breaſt of the Britiſh commander; but that veteran had diſtinguiſhed himſelf through a ſeries of ſervice, by ſteady courage and undaunted reſolution; he received the attack of the count with calm intrepidity; and ſeconded by the batteries from the ſhore, in two ſucceſſive days repelled the fury of the

the aſſailants. The French convinced, under theſe unfavourable circumſtances, that no effectual impreſſion could be made on the fleet, now directed their attempts againſt the land-forces. The count d'Eſtaing landed his troops, and marched at the head of them to attack general Meadows, a Britiſh officer, who occupied a ſtrong poſt on the iſland. Though his ſuperior numbers might juſtly inſpire him with the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs, yet he was compelled again to endure the mortification of defeat; the advantages that the Engliſh poſſeſſed by their ſituation, they maintained by their deſperate valour; and the count d'Eſtaing, after the loſs of near five hundred of his men, thought proper to retire to his ſhips: He ſoon after hoiſted ſail for Martinico; and the chevalier de Micoud, thus deprived of all expectation of ſuccour, abandoned the idea of further reſiſtance, and ſurrendered to the Engliſh.

In the Eaſt-Indies the ſettlements of France were ſtill more fatally expoſed to the enterpriſes of her enemies: Theſe, in the courſe of the laſt war, had been totally ſubdued; and though reſtored on the peace, were by the conditions of it left in a ſtate of weakneſs and degradation. Before any public declaration of war, the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company, appriſed of the diſpoſition of the court of Verſailles to vindicate the independence of America, diſpatched orders to their governors to anticipate all danger in that quarter, by immediately attacking the ſettlements of the French. Though the preparations of the government of Madraſs could not eſcape the vigilance of Monſieur de Bellecombe, governor of Pondicherry, and commandant of all the French ſettlements in the Indies, yet, deſtitute of reſources, he could only aſpire to the glory of a gallant defence. Monſieur de Tronjolli, the French commodore, had indeed diſputed the ſovereignty of the

ſeas,

ſeas, in an obſtinate action with the Engliſh admiral, Sir Edward Vernon; but inſtead returning to the road of Pondicherry, he ſteered his courſe for Mauritius, to repair the damages he had ſuſtained; and Monſieur de Bellecombe, with about three thouſand men, ſcarce one-fourth of whom were Europeans, was cloſely inveſted by general Munro, at the head of fifteen hundred Britiſh and nine thouſand black troops, and ſupported by the Engliſh admiral, Sir Edward Vernon.

The fortifications of Pondicherry had in ſome meaſure emerged from the ruins in which they had been left at the concluſion of laſt war; but they were ſtill feeble and incomplete; and the gallantry of the governor and reſolution of the garriſon alone ſupplied the numerous deficiencies to which they were expoſed: For a month they nobly ſuſtained the attacks of the beſiegers, and protracted the hour of ſubmiſſion; but in that time they had loſt, in killed and wounded, one-fourth of their original number, and the reſt were worn down by inceſſant fatigue. The artillery of the enemy had already made a practicable breach; and Monſieur de Bellecombe, ſenſible that he had uſed every poſſible exertion to preſerve the ſettlement, determined not to involve the garriſon and inhabitants in total deſtruction by a fruitleſs perſeverance. On the day preceding that intended for a general aſſault, he propoſed a capitulation, which was readily liſtened to by the Britiſh commanders, who, in the terms of it, gave the moſt honourable teſtimony to the gallantry of his conduct. The regiment of Pondicherry, in honour of Monſieur de Bellecombe, and at his particular requeſt, were allowed to keep their colours; the European part of the garriſon were to be tranſported to France; and the SEA-POYS, or *black troops*, were to be diſbanded in the country.

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The victors, at the ſame time, ſwept away the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coaſts of Coromandel; the Engliſh flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, Geman, Carical, and Maſulipatam; the fort of Mahie, in the dominions of Hyder Ally, and protected by the name of that prince, and the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon, ſtrong in the number of their inhabitants and the advantages of their ſituation, alone defied the ſtorm.

While France was thus ſtripped of her ſettlements in the Eaſt, the attention of her people at home was in a great meaſure occupied in reſtoring the memory of a man to whoſe miſconduct the loſs of thoſe very ſettlements in the courſe of laſt war had been imputed, and who had fallen a victim to the public indignation. Count Lally, who from the original ſtation of an adventurer had raiſed himſelf by his valour and enterpriſing genius to the command of the French forces in India, after the reduction of Pondicherry by general Coote, had returned to France; and was there purſued by the accuſations of the governor and the ſuperior council of Pondicherry. To his violence, extortion, and oppreſſion, they attributed that ruin in which they had been involved; and his impetuous temper and unbridled arrogance, unhappily furniſhed but too much advantage to the enmity of his accuſers. The parliament was authoriſed by the late king to proceed againſt him; and their report was fatal to that brave but imprudent officer. He was declared convicted of having betrayed the intereſts of the king and the Eaſt-India Company; and of having oppreſſed, with impartial rapacity, every deſcription of perſons that had ſought refuge or protection within the walls of Pondicherry. He was ſtripped of his croſs, the honorary reward of his former ſervices; and after having received fourteen wounds in advancing the

glory and intereſts of France, was condemned to fall by the hands of the executioner. He heard his ſentence with the indignation of injured innocence; and poured forth the moſt violent imprecations againſt the malice of his accuſers, and the ſanguinary partiality of his judges; but in the laſt hour of his life he reſumed, however, his wonted firmneſs, aſcended the ſcaffold quietly, and received the fatal ſtroke without uttering a word.

But the ſentence that terminated his life, could only for a time obſcure his honour; and his natural ſon, ſince known by the title of count Tollendal, roſe to vindicate the memory and juſtify the fame of his father. Devoted to this pious care, renouncing the frivolous amuſements of his youth, and endowed with every talent of nature and art, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the ſeveral criminal codes of Europe; he even found acceſs to the throne; and Lewis the Fifteenth, who had been inexorable to the father, ſuffered himſelf to be moved by the virtues of the ſon. He extended to him the royal favour, and honoured him with his particular eſteem; on the death of that monarch, count Tollendal deſiſted not from his unwearied aſſiduities; his conſtancy and importunities at length triumphed over the power of his opponents; the voice of juſtice was heard; and this year crowned his long labours with ſucceſs, by the reſtoration of the memory of count Lally, and the diſgrace of his accuſers.

The ſame year that beheld that officer's innocence legally eſtabliſhed, was alſo rendered remarkable by the death of one of his ableſt and moſt celebrated champions. It is the lively expreſſion of monſieur Voltaire, "*That count Lally was a man on whom "every one had a right to lay his hand, except the "executioner.*" But it was not permitted Voltaire to witneſs that juſtification for which he had combated;

bated; and that wonderful genius, who has filled ſo diſtinguiſhed a place in the republic of letters, expired only a few days before the ſentence of the count was reverſed. His private character, ſince his death, has been attacked by thoſe who in his life had ſmarted under his pen; but whatever might be his faults as a man, as an author he perhaps ſtands unrivalled; and the various compoſitions to which he has given birth, all of them entertaining and many of them inſtructive, are the beſt monuments to perpetuate his name.

Amidſt the horrors of war and the deſtruction of the human ſpecies, France received ſome ſatisfaction in the pregnancy of the queen; that princeſs, whoſe free and amiable manners had endeared her to her ſubjects, was ſafely delivered of a daughter; the royal infant was baptized by the name of Maria-Thereſa-Charlotta; and the count of Provence, and the Princeſs Elizabeth, repreſented on this occaſion, as ſponſors, the king of Spain and the empreſs-queen.

In the mean time the war raged in the weſtern part of the world with unabated fury. Count d'Eſtaing, after his double repulſe at St. Lucia, had retired to Martinico, from whence the Britiſh fleet, now rendered equal to him by the arrival of Admiral Byron's ſquadron, in vain endeavoured to allure him. His conduct at this moment was as cautious as it had been formerly bold and enterpriſing; the junction of Monſieur de Graſſe with a conſiderable convoy made no difference in the comparative ſtrength of the hoſtile fleets, ſince the Engliſh about the ſame time received a reinforcement under admiral Rowley; and the count ſtill continued to remain inactive within the harbour, or if he ventured forth, retreated immediately on the appearance of the enemy. A. D. 1779.

At length he reaped the harveſt which his perſeverance had ſown. Admiral Byron deemed it expedient to quit his ſtation, and convoy to a certain latitude the trade of the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands; and the French commander was now left to turn his arms againſt whatever place he ſhould think fit. St. Vincent's, one of the neutral iſlands, and which had been ceded to England, at the concluſion of the laſt war, was the firſt object of enterpriſe. The Count d'Eſtaing detached againſt it the Chevalier Rumain, with near four hundred men; and though the garriſon exceeded the number of the French, and the inhabitants had long been accuſtomed to war in their domeſtic conteſts with the Caribbs, yet ſo great was their terror, that they ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and thought themſelves happy in obtaining the ſame terms as had been granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

During this expedition count d'Eſtaing had been joined by Monſieur de la Motte Piquet from Europe, who brought with him not only a ſupply of troops, but, what was at leaſt equally neceſſary, of naval and military ſtores and proviſions. Strengthened by this reinforcement, and animated by the eaſy acquiſition of St. Vincent's, he meditated new and more important conqueſts. With twenty-five ſhips of the line, ten frigates, and near ten thouſand troops, he arrived off the iſland of Grenada, which at that time was governed by lord Macartney, and was defended only by about one hundred and fifty regulars, and three hundred armed inhabitants who occupied a fortified hill that commanded the fort, harbour, and capital town of St. George.

The French landed between two and three thouſand regular forces, under the conduct of count Dillon, who the next day inveſted the hill, and made the neceſſary preparations for carrying it by ſtorm on the following night. Lord Macartney had place

placed great reliance on the natural and artificial ſtrength of this poſt; and the inhabitants deemed it to afford ſo perfect a ſecurity, as to render it a depoſite for plate, jewels, and their moſt valuable moveables. Their reſiſtance was proportioned to the booty it contained; and though count d'Eſtaing headed a body of the French troops in perſon, they were repulſed on the firſt onſet. The ſuperiority of their numbers were at length deciſive, and they entered the lines after a hard conflict that laſted about an hour and a half: Without loſing a moment or even halting to recruit their waſted ſtrength, they dragged their artillery to the top of the hill that commanded the fort; and the governor, ſenſible of his dangerous ſituation, now ſolicited terms of capitulation, which he had before rejected. But the favourable moment was paſt; and count d'Eſtaing would only grant ſuch conditions, as lord Macartney and the principal inhabitants thought it better to truſt to the law and cuſtoms of nations than ſubſcribe to: They therefore ſubmitted without any ſtipulations whatſoever, and abandoned themſelves to the diſcretion of the victor.

Whatever luſtre might accrue to count d'Eſtaing from the reduction of the iſland, was ſullied by the ſeverity and rapacity which he exerciſed over the vanquiſhed; but he was ſoon ſummoned from the ſweets of plunder to maintain his new acquiſition by arms. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, had been acquainted with the loſs of St. Vincent's, and in conjunction with general Grant, had concerted a plan for the recovery of that iſland. But while they were on their paſſage, they received the diſagreeable intelligence of the invaſion of Grenada, and they immediately changed their courſe in hopes of yet preſerving that valuable ſettlement.

A ſignal from a battery on the iſland firſt appriſed count d'Eſtaing of the approach of the Engliſh fleet;

fleet; he immediately commanded his own to ſtand out to ſea, and though ſuperior in number to admiral Byron, deemed it more prudent to ſecure his preſent acquiſition than to hazard it in ſearch of freſh laurels. The Engliſh attacked with great ſpirit, but during the continuance of the action they were informed of the total reduction of the iſland of Grenada; the object of enterpriſe was thus at an end; their ſhips had ſuffered conſiderably in the engagement, and they determined to retreat to St. Chriſtopher's; while d'Eſtaign, ſatisfied with having protected his new conqueſt, returned, during the night, to Grenada.

But no ſooner had he regulated the government of that iſland than he ſteered for Martinico, and thence ſupplied with naval ſtores, proceeded towards St. Chriſtopher's, and defied the Engliſh to battle; incapable of forcing them in their own harbour, and having thus retorted the inſult that had been formerly offered to him at Martinico, he directed his operations to a different quarter, and ſailed to America to ſecond the deſigns of the United States.

The ſouthern provinces of America had, in a great meaſure, been exempt from thoſe calamities which had afflicted the other parts of that continent; but towards the cloſe of the laſt campaign, general Clinton had extended his views to the recovery of South-Carolina and Georgia. The chief command was veſted in general Prevoſt, who, after experiencing ſome viciſſitudes, gained conſiderable footing in the latter province, and had eſtabliſhed his headquarters at the town of Savannah. The United States were not inclined patiently to ſubmit to this diſgrace; but the ſcene of action was ſo remote from the centre of force and the ſeat of council, that the war there was in a great meaſure beyond their reach; and the Britiſh marine afforded ſuch deciſive advantages

tages to the operations of their troops, in countries every where bordered by the ſea and interſected by inland navigations, as could ſcarcely be counteracted with effect by any moderate ſuperiority at land.

Under theſe conſiderations, they implored the ſupport and aſſiſtance of France; and the court of Verſailles, deſirous of affording eſſential aid to her allies, directed count d'Eſtaing, as ſoon as he had fulfilled the objects of enterpriſe in the Weſt-Indies, to haſten to America; that commander accordingly, having ſeen the homeward bound Weſt-India trade clear of danger, proceeded with twenty-two ſhips of the line and ten frigates to that coaſt, in hopes not only of overwhelming the force under general Prevoſt, and delivering the ſouthern colonies from apprehenſion, but with the intention, in conjunction with general Waſhington, of attacking the Britiſh troops at New York, and by one deciſive ſtroke bringing the war on that continent to a final concluſion.

No ſooner had the count arrived on the coaſt of America, than he was informed that general Lincoln, who commanded at Charles Town, was inſtructed to act in concert with him: Some few days were naturally loſt in adjuſting the future operations of their united forces; and it was not till a week from his firſt appearance that he anchored off the bar of the Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. The French troops were landed at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from Savannah Town; the frigates were poſted ſo as to ſecure the different inlets of the river; and the French, with the American light horſe, having driven in the outpoſts of the enemy, count d'Eſtaign ſummoned general Prevoſt, the Britiſh commander, to ſurrender.

Though that officer had diligently employed the interval in ſtrengthening the works of the town, he

he yet was in hourly expectation of being joined by a conſiderable detachment then abſent on an expedition againſt South Carolina: This circumſtance induced him to return an ambiguous anſwer; and Count d'Eſtaing, in hopes of obtaining poſſeſſion of the town without bloodſhed, conſented to a truce for twenty-four hours. He had ſoon reaſon to lament the addreſs that had deceived him into this ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; in the ſhort ſpace mentioned, the expected detachment re-entered Savannah, and the anſwer of general Prevoſt announced his reſolution to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

The French forces conſiſted of upwards of four thouſand regular troops, and the Americans who joined their ſtandard might ſwell the army of the beſiegers to about ſeven thouſand men: The Britiſh garriſon that defended Savannah could ſcarce be eſtimated at three thouſand; every appearance promiſed count d'Eſtaing the moſt rapid and brilliant ſucceſs; and to augment the diſtreſs of the beſieged, the allied generals refuſed a paſſage through their lines to the women and children in the town. The regular approaches that had been firſt determined on but ill ſuited the impetuoſity of the French commander; he was ſenſible of the danger that his fleet of capital ſhips was expoſed to, in lying without ſhelter upon an inhoſpitable coaſt at that critical ſeaſon of the year; he obſerved that his batteries had produced but little effect on the Britiſh works; he was impatient to proceed in queſt of new enterpriſes; and he relied with implicit confidence on the ſuperiority of his force and the goodneſs of his troops.

Theſe various motives induced a reſolution which, had it been adopted previous to the return and junction of the Britiſh detachment to general Prevoſt, might have been attended with ſucceſs; the works, then feeble and incomplete, were open to an aſſault, and

and would probably have been penetrated by the lively valour of the French; but they had now been ſtrengthened by the aſſiduous labour of three weeks, and were covered by a numerous artillery amounting to near one hundred pieces, and directed by captain Moncrieffe, an engineer of approved and conſummate ſkill. Yet theſe obſtacles, though they eſcaped not the obſervation could not extinguiſh the ardour of the count d'Eſtaing; before the dawn of day a heavy cannonade and bombardment uſhered in the attack; the count himſelf in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by the principal officers of each. But this enterpriſe was not attended with the ſucceſs the gallantry of it deſerved; the allies were encountered with an obſtinate reſiſtance; they were entangled in their approach by ſwampy ground; and though they perſevered in the attack with extraordinary courage, and for ſome hours rivalled each other in mutual acts of valour, they were at length obliged, with conſiderable loſs, to retire from the field, and yield to the advantageous poſition and calm intrepedity of their enemies.

This repulſe entirely broke the deſigns of the count d'Eſtaing; ſeverely wounded himſelf, he lamented the fate of ſome of his moſt gallant officers who had fallen on the field: In about a week after he abandoned the unpropitious coaſt; and after detaching one ſquadron of his fleet to St. Domingo, a ſecond under monſieur de la Motte Piquet to Martinico, and a third under monſieur de Vaudreuil to the Cheſapeak, whoſe preſence prevented the invaſion of Virginia, and retarded that of Carolina, the count himſelf, with the ſhips leaſt fit for ſervice, ſailed for Europe.

Whatever diſappointments might have attended the arms of France in America, her negociations in Europe afforded her ample compenſation; and the court

court of Spain aroused from the neutrality she had hitherto observed, and disgusted with the ministers of Great Britain, who had rejected her proffered mediation, now prepared to fulfil the conditions of the celebrated family compact; and to efface the unfortunate and disgraceful events of the last war, by uniting in this the strength of the house of Bourbon, while vigorous and yet unimpaired. Her ambassador the marquis de Almadovar, after having presented a memorial to the court of St. James's, in which he declared the insults offered to his sovereign amounted exactly to one hundred, quitted London and returned to Spain.

France immediately prepared to avail herself of the present disposition of the court of Madrid; Count d'Orvilliers sailed with the grand fleet from Brest, and joined that of Spain; and the combined fleets of the house of Bourbon presented to their enemies the formidable sight of sixty-six ships of the line; with this prodigious force they entered the British channel, and scattered terror and dismay throughout the coasts of that island. Admiral Hardy, who commanded the English fleet, was happy to find refuge in the friendly harbours of Great Britain; Plymouth trembled for her safety; and that people who had so long asserted their dominion over the seas, in their turn were taught to dread the calamities of a menaced invasion. The dread of the approaching equinoctial storms, after the capture of the Ardent, an English ship of the line, induced the fleets of France and Spain to separate; but the naval campaign proved more glorious than advantageous to the former; and a pestilential disorder which the sailors on their return communicated to their countrymen, raged for a long time throughout France with fatal fury.

To increase the embarrassments of the English, and divide their force, Spain, with a considerable army

army formed the ſiege of Gibraltar; a fortreſs which, ſituated on a rock, and occupied by the Engliſh, had long derided the attempts, and wounded the pride of the court of Madrid. The land forces were entruſted to the command of Don Alvarez; Don Barcello blocked up the harbour with a number of xebecques and frigates, while Don Lewis de Cordova with twelve ſhips of the line was ſtationed near to afford ſupport to his operations.

Amidſt the fury of war Lewis diſplayed that regard for ſcience which had early formed the prominent feature of his reign; and while he poured the thunder of his arms on his enemies, two ſhips were marked by an honourable exemption from the attempts of the fleets of France. Previous to the commencement of hoſtilities, the Engliſh had ſent two veſſels into the ſouth ſeas, commanded by captains Cook and Clerke, to explore the coaſts and iſlands of Japan and California; the return of thoſe veſſels was hourly expected in Europe; and Lewis, with a conſiderate humanity which reflects the brighteſt luſtre on his character, by a circular letter to all his naval officers, commanded them to abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt theſe ſhips, and to treat them as neutral veſſels. The letters mentioned alſo in terms of the higheſt reſpect captain Cook, who had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf in ſucceſſive voyages of diſcovery. But death allowed not that celebrated navigator to enjoy this graceful teſtimony of his merit; and in one of the newly diſcovered iſlands he had already fallen a victim to the blind fury of the ſavage inhabitants.

Though Italy had eſcaped the deſtructive rage of war, and the ſanguinary effects of ambition, yet the fertile fields of Naples were afflicted by a calamity not leſs fatal and more tremendous. A dreadful eruption from Mount Veſuvius, which far exceeded any that had been known in the memory of man,

man, overwhelmed in horror and ruin the adjacent country; in the diſtrict of Ottaiano, the habitations of twelve thouſand perſons were deluged or conſumed by a ſtream of liquid fire; its fatal influence extended for above three miles; the hopes of the peaſant and the wealth of the huſbandman were in a moment blaſted and deſtroyed, and the elements ſeemed to conſpire with man in ſpreading miſery and devaſtation throughout the human ſpecies.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLIII.

Confederacy of the northern powers of Europe—Victory of admiral Rodney over Don Juan de Langara—The combined ſquadron of France and Spain capture the Engliſh Eaſt and Weſt India fleet—Action between Count de Guichen and admiral Rodney in the Weſt Indies—Campaign in America—Expedition of the Marquis de la Fayette againſt Canada, diſconcerted by the return of Count de Guichen to Europe—Hurricane in the Weſt Indies—England declares war with Holland—Diſmiſſal of Monſieur Sartine—Attempt on Jerſey—Reduction of Tobago—Monſieur de Graſſe ſails to America—Capture of the Britiſh army under Lord Cornwallis—Penſacola reduced by the Spaniards—Monſieur Suffrein ſails to the Eaſt Indies—Engagement with Commodore Johnſtone at St. Jago—Hyder Ally attacks the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt—Loſſes of the Dutch in that quarter—Action off the Dogger Bank—Diſmiſſal of Monſieur Necker—Birth of the Dauphin.

THE public opinion that had raiſed monſieur Necker to the obſervation and favour of his ſovereign, ſtill continued to follow him; and his talents were aſſiduouſly employed to merit applauſe. Under his direction a general reform took place throughout every department of the revenue; the people, inſtead of being burthened with new taxes, beheld the public income augmented by the œconomy and improvements that were introduced into the management of the finances; a variety A.D. 1780.

of

of unneceſſary offices in the houſehold of the king and queen were aboliſhed, and other important regulations adopted for the eaſe of the ſubject and the general benefit of the kingdom.

The zeal and induſtry of the director general of the finances were rivalled by the addreſs of the miniſters of France at the different courts of Europe. The emperor of Germany and the king of Pruſſia after a ſhort trial of each others ſtrength, had agreed to ſheath the ſword; but they continued ſtill actuated with mutual jealouſy, and ſtill maintained on foot the ſame armies as if in a ſtate of actual hoſtility. But if the reciprocal ſuſpicions of theſe rival courts diverted their attention from the neighbouring belligerent powers, the ſituation of Ruſſia allowed her to contemplate at leiſure what advantages ſhe might derive from the general ſtate of affairs. That empire at no time had appeared more formidable; and the ſucceſs of her arms in the laſt war againſt the Ottoman Porte, had received additional luſtre from the acquieſcence of the divan in the conditions ſhe had dictated with reſpect to the Crimea. A long and intimate connection had ſubſiſted between the courts of Peterſburgh and London; and ſhould the myriads of Ruſſia be added to the wealth of England, Lewis was ſenſible that the houſe of Bourbon muſt have ſunk in the unequal conteſt.

The French ambaſſador at the court of Peterſburg was therefore inſtructed at this critical juncture to conciliate the inclinations of the empreſs, by every compliance that the honour of his country would permit; and the fears of France were ſoon extinguiſhed by a manifeſto as favourable to the views of the court of Verſailles, as it was unpropitious to thoſe of St. James's. The jealouſy that had been excited by the former aſcendancy of Great Britain, and the dominion that ſhe had attained on the

ſea,

ſea, had even extended to, and been nouriſhed by, the moſt diſtant powers of the north; the empreſs of Ruſſia embraced the favourable opportunity to emancipate her commerce from the control of thoſe haughty iſlanders; and was readily perſuaded by the ambaſſador of France to place herſelf at the head of a confederacy formed of her northern neighbours. She accordingly addreſſed a declaration to the courts of London, Verſailles, and Madrid, in which, after dwelling on the juſtice and moderation of which ſhe had given ſuch convincing proofs in the courſe of her war with the Ottoman Porte, and the ſtrict regard that ſhe had always ſhewn for the rights of neutrality and of commerce in general, ſhe lamented that her example had not been permitted to influence the preſent belligerent powers, but that her ſubjects had been precluded from enjoying peaceably the fruits of their induſtry, and the advantages belonging to neutral nations; that they had been moleſted in their navigation, and retarded in their operations by the ſhips and privateers of the contending ſovereigns; and that ſhe found herſelf, with concern, under the neceſſity of removing thoſe vexations which were offered to the commerce of Ruſſia in particular, and to that of Europe in general, by all the means compatible with her dignity and with the welfare of her ſubjects.

She proceeded to demand that neutral ſhips ſhould enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coaſts of the belligerent powers; that all effects belonging to the belligerent powers ſhould be looked upon as free on board ſuch neutral ſhips, excepting only thoſe goods as were ſtipulated contraband, as arms, ammunition, and warlike ſtores; that if any ſuch were found beyond what might properly appertain to the ſhip's crew or paſſengers, they might be ſeized and confiſcated according to law; but neither the veſſels, paſſengers, or the reſt of the goods

goods were to be detained for that reaſon, or hindered from purſuing their voyage; that theſe principles were to ſerve as rules in the judicial proceedings and ſentences upon the legality of prizes; and her imperial majeſty declared, to render them ſtill more reſpected, and to protect the honour of her flag, ſhe had given orders to fit out a conſiderable naval force. The kings of Denmark and Sweden immediately acceded to the language and declarations of the empreſs of Ruſſia; the ſtates general of the United Provinces, after that delay that always prevails in the deliberations of the republic, followed their example; and this formidable confederacy aſſumed the title of the armed neutrality, and engaged to make a common cauſe of it at ſea, againſt any of the powers that ſhould violate the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of the empreſs of Ruſſia.

The anſwer of the king of France proclaimed how acceptable the nature of that memorial was to the court of Verſailles. He declared what her imperial majeſty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing elſe than the rules preſcribed to the French navy; the execution of which was maintained with an exactneſs known and applauded by all Europe. He expreſſed his approbation of the principles and views of the empreſs; and aſſerted, that from the meaſures ſhe had now adopted, ſolid advantages would undoubtedly reſult not only to her ſubjects but alſo to all nations.

Whilſt France by her intrigues ſecured the friendſhip of the north, ſhe ſuffered a deep and fatal wound in the calamity of her kindred ally. A Spaniſh ſquadron, of eleven ſhips of the line and two frigates, cruiſing near Cape Saint Vincent, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, was ſurrounded by the Engliſh fleet under admiral Rodney, then proceeding to the relief of Gibraltar. The Spaniards

Spaniards for a long time maintained the conflict with great gallantry; but they were at length forced to yield to the ſuperior numbers of their enemies. The Saint Domingo, a Spaniſh ſhip of ſeventy guns and ſix hundred men, was blown up in the action. The admiral's ſhip, the Phœnix of eighty guns, with four more ſhips of the line, were taken; another of the ſame rate was driven on ſhore and deſtroyed; and the ſhattered remnant eſcaped with difficulty the purſuit of the victors. Admiral Rodney immediately after purſued his courſe to Gibraltar, relieved the garriſon of that fortreſs, repaſſed the Streights, and ſteered in triumph to the Weſt-Indies, after detaching admiral Digby with his prizes and part of his ſquadron to Great Britain, who on his paſſage fell in with and captured the Prothée, a French man of war of ſixty-four guns.

This was not the only diſaſter that aroſe from the perſevering attachment of Spain to the ſiege of Gibraltar. The naval preparations of France had been continued during the winter at an expence that bordered on profuſion; and the united fleets of the houſe of Bourbon might have eſtabliſhed their ſovereignty in the Channel, and once more inſulted the coaſts of Great Britain; but Spain, occupied in fruitleſs attempts on that fatal rock, ſuffered the moment for their junction to elapſe; the fleet of France was confined to her harbours by the ſuperior force of Great Britain, whoſe naval armaments ſhe was not able to encounter ſingly. Admiral Geary, with the Engliſh fleet, continued vigilantly to obſerve their motions; and the Artois, the Capricieuſe, the Nymphe, and the Belle Poule, were ſucceſſively taken by Britiſh cruiſers. The chevalier de Kergarion, who commanded the latter, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a bloody and gallant reſiſtance. Though the ſhip that attacked him mounted ſixty-four guns, and the Belle Poule carried only thirty-two, he maintain-

ed the combat with undaunted reſolution; mortally wounded, he continued to exclaim, "Courage, my "children, courage!" and expired while he yet endeavoured to animate by his expreſſion and example his faithful crew. On his death the command devolved on his firſt lieutenant M. la Motte Tabourel, who defended the Belle Poule, with ſimilar reſolution, for three quarters of an hour. He then reluctantly ſtruck his flag, as it was impoſſible any longer to keep the ſhip from ſinking, had the engagement been continued. Six feet water were in the hold, ſixteen ſhot in the body of the ſhip, the maſts and yards broken, the ſails and rigging cut to pieces, the captain and twenty-four men killed, and the ſecond captain, with fifty men wounded. The chevalier du Remain, in the Nymphe, had defended himſelf with ſimilar courage; equal in force to the Engliſh ſhip, he only yielded to her ſuperior fortune; before the colours of the Nymphe were ſtruck, two thirds of her crew were killed and wounded; and among the former was the chevalier du Remain himſelf.

The French ſhips of war, impatient of the delay of the Spaniards, had eſcaped from Breſt in ſmall diviſions, and rendezvouſed at Cadiz. There they had joined the fleet of Spain, and once more united, were occupied in cruizing off Cape St. Vincent, when fortune ſeemed inclined to compenſate for their former diſappointments. A rich and conſiderable convoy for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, under the protection of one ſhip of the line and two frigates, had ſailed from England; and Don Lewis de Cordova, who commanded the combined ſquadrons, was agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſight of this invaluable and defenceleſs fleet. A ſignal was made for a general chace; the men of war eſcaped by their ſuperior ſailing; but five Eaſt-India men, and fifty veſſels bound to the Weſt Indies, were taken and carried

ried into Cadiz; the former, beſides arms and ammunition, with a train of artillery, conveyed naval ſtores for the ſupply of the Britiſh ſquadron in that quarter; and the latter contained tents and camp equipage for the troops deſigned for active ſervice in the Leeward iſlands; but the moſt irreparable loſs to Great Britain were fifteen hundred and twenty ſeamen, and twelve hundred and fifty-five ſoldiers, who became by that event the captives of the houſe of Bourbon.

In the Weſt Indies Monſieur de la Motte Piquet, with four ſhips of the line, attacked a ſquadron of the Engliſh under commodore Cornwallis; the latter, during the action, was joined by another ſhip of the line, which rendered their force more equal to the encounter; and monſieur de la Motte, having received already conſiderable damage, and impatient to join the grand fleet, bore away for Cape Francois. The count de Guichen had ſailed from Breſt to ſupply the place of count d'Eſtaing; the fleet under his command, when united, conſiſted of twenty-three ſhips of the line, beſides frigates; and ſoon after he fell in with admiral Rodney and twenty ſhips of the line. An engagement enſued, long, obſtinate, and indeciſive. The French retired to refit to Guadaloupe, and the Engliſh, reſolute to renew the action, cruized off the iſland of Martinico.

The count de Guichen, whoſe gallantry in the laſt engagement had extorted the admiration of his adverſaries, was not diſpoſed to ſuffer the Britiſh fleet to inſult by their preſence a ſettlement belonging to France. On intelligence of the ſtation of admiral Rodney, he quitted Guadaloupe, and ſteered to meet the rival of his glory. But the engagement did not commence till evening, and night ſoon after ſeparated the combatants. A third encounter was equally partial and indeciſive; and count de Guichen ſoon after joined a Spaniſh ſquadron, which, though it gave

him a decided ſuperiority, yet refuſed to concur in any attack on the ſettlements of the Engliſh; the French commander, by the ſuperfluous caution of his colleague, thus rendered incapable of availing himſelf of his immediate ſtrength, ſeized the opportunity to eſcort the homeward-bound trade towards Europe; the ſickly ſtate of his men induced him to continue his voyage, and he conducted his wealthy convoy in ſafety to Cadiz; there he was joined by the count d'Eſtaing, who aſſumed the chief command; the fleet of France by this union was ſwelled to thirty-ſix ſhips of the line; but the ſhips themſelves were foul and out of repair, and the feeble condition of the crews has already been noticed. Under theſe circumſtances, and encumbered by the protection of his convoy, though count d'Eſtaing on his paſſage fell in with the Engliſh fleet under admiral Darby, conſiſting of only twenty-two ſhips of the line, yet he deemed it unadviſeable to hazard an engagement, and purſued his courſe to the ports of France.

The repulſe of count d'Eſtaing at Savannah had revived the hopes of the Britiſh commanders in America; they now aſpired to the final reduction of the ſouthern colonies, and the inclemency of winter was not permitted to ſuſpend their hoſtile operations. At the cloſe of the laſt year, general Clinton ſet ſail from New York with a conſiderable body of troops for the attack of Charleſtown, the capital of South Carolina; he was eſcorted and ſupported by a Britiſh fleet commanded by admiral Arbuthnot; after a tedious voyage they reached Savannah, and having refreſhed the troops and repaired the damages the fleet had ſuſtained, in the middle of March they arrived within ſight of the place of their deſtination.

Though the Americans were not ignorant of the intentions of the Britiſh commander, yet the force in Charleſtown, including every deſcription, ſcarce amounted

amounted to ſix thouſand men, and were by no means equal to the extent of the works; many of theſe alſo were but little accuſtomed to military ſervice, and very ill provided with cloaths and other neceſſaries. This omiſſion was not to be attributed to the ſupineneſs of Congreſs, but to the nature of their military eſtabliſhment; the men in general enliſted but fo ra ſingle campaign, and on the approach of winter were impatient to return to their farms or families; it was this very circumſtance that probably induced general Clinton to engage in the expedition at the particular ſeaſon when he knew the United States were leaſt capable of affording ſuccour to the beſieged; but though general Lincoln was ſenſible of the difficulties that he was expoſed to, yet he rejected the terms of capitulation that were offered by the Britiſh commander, and prepared to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him with fidelity and honour.

But perſonal courage could not alone ſupply the deficiency of every other requiſite for a ſucceſsful defence; and general Lincoln beheld with regret, while his own hopes diminiſhed, the ſtrength of the enemy increaſe. A detachment from the Britiſh ſhips poſſeſſed themſelves of Sullivan's Iſland, which from its ſituation might greatly incommode the garriſon; a body of cavalry that had been collected in the adjacent country for the ſupport of the beſieged, were routed and totally diſperſed; in the progreſs of a month, the approaches of the beſiegers had been ſucceſsfully advanced; and general Lincoln, unwilling by a fruitleſs perſeverance to involve the town and inhabitants in certain deſtruction, reſumed the negociation that had been broken off, and ſubſcribed the terms of capitulation; theſe preſerved to the inhabitants their lives and property; the militia were permitted to retire to their reſpective homes; but the regulars of the American army were to remain priſoners of war until exchanged.

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The danger and loſs of Charles Town had excited a conſiderable alarm throughout America; the United States had ſolicited in the ſtrongeſt terms the ſupport of France; and Lewis, attentive to the intereſts of his allies, detached in the beginning of May from Breſt the count of Rochambeau with twelve thouſand ſelect troops, and the chevalier de Ternay with ſeven ſhips of the line and ſeveral frigates. Theſe arrived about the middle of June at Rhode Iſland, which, during the courſe of laſt year, had been evacuated by the Britiſh, and now acknowledged the authority of the United States.

Count Rochambeau was received by the Americans with every mark of cordial eſteem; a committee from the general aſſembly of Rhode Iſland was appointed to congratulate him on his arrival; and their ſatisfaction was not diminiſhed by the declaration of the French commander, that his ſovereign would never ſheath the ſword until the independence of America was acknowledged; that the troops he had brought over were only the van guard of a much greater force that was deſtined to their aid; and that the king had ordered him to aſſure them that his whole power ſhould be exerted for their ſupport; he added, that the French troops were under the ſtricteſt diſcipline; and, acting under the orders of general Waſhington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

The United States allotted Rhode Iſland to their allies as a place of arms; and count Rochambeau, while he awaited the promiſed reinforcement, diligently employed his troops in repairing and augmenting the works on the iſland. He had ſoon after reaſon to congratulate himſelf on this precaution. General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot, returned from the reduction of Charles Town to New York, formed a plan of attack againſt the French fleet and army; but their deſigns could not elude the penetration

tration of general Washington; he rapidly crossed the North River with twelve thousand men; and general Clinton perceiving the danger to which his absence must expose New York, relinquished his attempt against Rhode Island.

The marquis de la Fayette, who had been so much distinguished by the early part that he took in the American cause, long before the court of Versailles had thought it prudent to avow their inclination, returned from his native country, to which he had paid a transient visit, to join again the standard of freedom. His early engagement, and great zeal and activity in the service of the United States, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to general Washington; and the commendations of that commander were productive of the most flattering attentions from congress to the marquis.

But the visit of that nobleman to Philadelphia, where the congress had again established their residence, was principally to concert and adjust the plan for the rest of the campaign. He, as well as count Rochambeau, held forth assurances of the most powerful support from France; it was expected that monsieur de Guichen from the West India islands would steer his course to America; that he would join the fresh ships of monsieur Ternay; and that the grand army under general Washington being also reinforced by the troops of Rochambeau, an attack by sea and land might be made on the British troops at New York, with such a superiority of force as must have ensured success; the reduction of lord Cornwallis's detachment, to the southward must naturally have ensued; and the marquis de la Fayette was to have proceeded with a considerable army on a winter expedition against Canada.

In expectation of these events, the marquis de la Fayette published a preparatory memorial addressed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them by all

all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural deſire of recovering their freedom, to be ready to join and aſſiſt him; and holding out all the ſeverities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to thoſe, if any ſuch there were, who, blindly perverſe to their own intereſts, and forgetful of all thoſe ties and duties, ſhould in any manner oppoſe the arms or impede the generous deſigns of their deliverers; but when Waſhington had recruited his army with ſuch diligence as to have ſwelled it to twenty thouſand men, the whole project was diſconcerted by a circumſtance that has been already related; and the count de Guichen, in proceeding with his fleet to Europe, expoſed the Americans to as ſevere a diſappointment as any they had experienced during the courſe of the war.

This conduct of monſieur de Guichen, however, fatal to the ſplendid proſpects of the allies of France, was ſufficiently juſtified by the bad ſtate of his ſhips when he arrived at Cadiz; and his departure from the Weſt Indies preſerved him from the calamities in which thoſe iſlands were ſoon after involved. A hurricane, the fury of which exceeded any thing that ever was known or can be conceived, ſwept throughout that quarter of the world the ſeas and land with wild and undiſtinguiſhed rage. At Martinico the beautiful town of St. Pierre, built upon the ſhore, was entirely overwhelmed and waſhed away; the town of Baſſeterre in Guadaloupe ſhared the ſame fate; ſixty ſail of tranſports from France, that had arrived that morning at Martinico, with ſtores, and two thouſand five hundred troops on board, were driven out to ſea, and almoſt all ſwallowed up by that ungovernable element. The Experiment of fifty guns, with the Juno of forty, and ſeveral other French frigates, were entirely loſt. Grenada and St. Vincent's equally preſented a ſcene of deſolation; and in the latter not a ſingle houſe was capable of withſtanding the fury of the tempeſt. The Britiſh

ſettlements

ſettlements and marine ſuffered alſo proportionably; Jamaica, Barbadoes, and St. Lucia were the principal victims to its rage; admiral Rodney, with eleven ſhips of the line, had fortunately proceeded to the coaſt of America; but the Andromeda and Laurel, Britiſh frigates, were both wrecked on the coaſt of Martinico. The humanity of the marquis de Bouille, governor general of the French Weſt India iſlands, on this occaſion ſhone forth with diſtinguiſhed luſtre; thirty-one Engliſh ſailors, the ſcanty remnant that was ſaved from the crews of the Andromeda and Laurel, were ſent by that commander under a flag of truce to the Britiſh commodore at St. Lucia. The marquis declared in the letter that accompanied them, that he could not conſider in the light of enemies, men who had ſo hardly eſcaped in a contention with the force of the elements; he only lamented that their number was ſo ſmall, and that none of the officers had been ſaved.

By the expedition of admiral Rodney to America, he had eluded the deſtructive rage of that tempeſt which deſolated the Weſt India iſlands; but his continuance on the American coaſt was of ſhort duration; and informed that the count de Guichen had proceeded for Europe, he himſelf ſoon after returned to Barbadoes. In the mean time the hoſtile armies in the neighbourhood of New York continued vigilantly to obſerve each other's motions. But while the Britiſh commander appeared ſunk in ſupineneſs, he meditated a deep and dark ſcheme, which could it have taken effect in its full extent, would probably have brought the war to a final concluſion, and for ever have extinguiſhed the independence of America.

In the courſe of the war we have already noticed the early attack on Quebec, in which the courage and conduct of general Arnold had been diſplayed to the higheſt advantage; the reputation he had acquired there, he continued to maintain by a ſeries of bold and enterprizing exertions; and the final capture

ture of the Britiſh army under general Burgoyne, was in a great meaſure attributed to his counſels and gallant example. As a reward, congreſs had beſtowed on him the government of Philadelphia; but the affections of his countrymen accompanied him not in that peaceful occupation; his profuſion had plunged him into diſtreſſes from which he endeavoured to extricate himſelf by the oppreſſion of the inhabitants of Philadelphia; their complaints expoſed him to the judgment of a court martial; that court declared his conduct highly reprehenſible, and ordered that he ſhould be reprimanded by general Waſhington. This cenſure firſt alienated his mind from the United States; and though ſoon after he was taken into actual ſervice, and appointed to a principal command under general Waſhington, his pecuniary embaraſſments, or reſentments, triumphed over his fidelity, and he entered into a cloſe correſpondence with the enemies of his country.

The American commander had ſtationed his army for the winter on both ſides of the North River; and the important poſt of Weſt Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a conſiderable diviſion of the army, were entruſted to general Arnold. That officer had agreed to make ſuch a diviſion of the wing under his command as would enable general Clinton completely to ſurpriſe them; and the Engliſh troops once admitted within the lines, might have availed themſelves of the rout and confuſion, to the total deſtruction of the whole army. The loſs of their only diſciplined force, with moſt, if not all, of their experienced officers, muſt have blaſted for ever the infant greatneſs of the United States.

From this melancholy cataſtrophe they were preſerved by the fidelity of three young men, educated in the humbleſt walks of life, and who nobly diſdained to betray their truſt, though tempted by the moſt faſcinating offers. To adjuſt the plan of attack with general Arnold, major André, adjutant general

ral to the Britiſh army, had accepted the perilous commiſſion of entering the American lines. When there, he had been perſuaded by the caution of Arnold to lay aſide his regimentals, aſſume a private dreſs, and return with a paſſport under the feigned name of Anderſon; under that name he had already eluded the different guards and poſts of the camps, when at a ſmall diſtance from the Britiſh lines he was ſtopped by three young volunteers; theſe, notwithſtanding his paſſport, inſiſted on examining him more ſtrictly; and the major, whoſe ingenuous diſpoſition but ill fitted him for deception, increaſed their ſuſpicions by endeavouring to purchaſe his freedom with his purſe and watch; to theſe he added offers of permanent proviſion and future promotion, on condition of their accompanying him to New-York; but the Americans were proof to the allurements of affluence and ambition, and they inſiſted on conducting him to their commanding officer.

Some delay in his examination allowed general Arnold to be apprized of his misfortune before his own connection with the priſoner was diſcovered. He immediately abandoned his quarters, and eſcaped to the protection of the Britiſh lines; but the unhappy major André fell the victim of the fatal project. Fourteen general officers were appointed by the American commander to determine on his caſe, and the puniſhment that ought to be inflicted; among theſe was the marquis de la Fayette; and the board, with the regret that was excited by the frank and noble demeanour of the priſoner, pronounced that he ought to be conſidered as a ſpy from the enemy, and agreeable to the laws of nations ought to ſuffer death. The repeated applications of general Clinton, to avert the ſtroke of juſtice, were in vain; but the laſt hours of the unfortunate victim were ſoothed by every mark of reſpect and even of regard; and the execution of the ſentence was accompanied by the

the tears of the very judges who had pronounced it.

But though the vigilance of general Waſhington guarded againſt the dangerous effects which were to be apprehended from Arnold's treachery, he found ſtill greater difficulties to encounter in the univerſal diſtreſs that reigned throughout the provinces. The troops under his command, deſtitute of cloathing of every kind, could not be reſtrained from giving open vent to their diſcontents; they were again ſoothed into obedience by the addreſs of their commander, and by the promiſes that were held out of liberal ſupport from France.

The events of the campaign, though by no means adverſe, had not anſwered the ſanguine expectations of the court of Verſailles, and thoſe advantages which the miniſters of France expected to derive from the united force of the houſe of Bourbon. But that confederacy acquired new ſtrength by the preſumption of their enemy; and Great Britain having, by the capture of an American packet, obtained poſſeſſion of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America, gave looſe to her indignation, and at the cloſe of the year commenced hoſtilities againſt the Dutch; a meaſure which was received at Paris with open exultation, and which neceſſarily threw that republic into the arms of France.

During the operations of the contending fleets and armies, ſome changes had taken place among the miniſters of France. Monſieur Bertin had reſigned the office of ſecretary of ſtate. The prince de Montbarey had retired from the poſt of ſecretary at war, and was ſucceeded by the marquis de Segur; but the moſt important removal was that of monſieur Sartine, who had for five years preſided over the marine department; and whoſe unwearied application and ability had raiſed the naval power of France to a height that aſtoniſhed Europe; but his colleagues

leagues in the cabinet loudly accuſed a profuſion, which would have diverted into one channel the whole reſources of the kingdom; the extent of his projects, and the expence of the armaments he ſuggeſted, were by no means conſiſtent with the ſevere œconomy that characteriſed the comptroller general of the finances; and his retreat opened a road to the ambition of the marquis de Caſtries, who was appointed in his place to the department of the marine.

But whatever alteration Lewis might make in his miniſters, his own diſpoſition remained the ſame, and his mind was inceſſantly employed in augmenting the happineſs of his ſubjects. He fixed on the anniverſary of his birth day to render it memorable by a new inſtance of humanity; and he aboliſhed for ever the inhuman cuſtom of *putting the queſtion*, as it was called, by torture; a cuſtom which had been ſo eſtabliſhed and rivetted by the practice and concurrence of ages, that it ſeemed to be an indiviſible part of the conſtitution of the courts of juſtice of France. At the ſame time, to defray the expences of war, he continued to diminiſh his own expenditure, and ſacrificing his magnificence to the eaſe of his ſubjects, diſmiſſed at once no leſs than four hundred and ſix officers belonging to his court.

It was indeed alone by the moſt rigid œconomy that France was able to ſupply the demands for the diſtant and various warfare in which ſhe had engaged. The councils of Spain were ſtill marked by that imbecility which for near a century had characteriſed them; and Holland, naturally ſlow in her deliberations, long diſuſed to war, and ſurpriſed into hoſtilities, at firſt required, rather than imparted, ſupport to her allies; in Europe, in America, the Weſt Indies, and the Eaſt, the burthen was to be borne by France; A. D. 1781.

and

and though ſhe could not but ſeverely feel the inceſſant weight, yet her preparations ſtill kept pace with the extent of the ſervice.

In the commencement of the campaign the baron de Rullecourt, with a ſmall band of adventurers, had meditated an attack on the iſland of Jerſey; he embraced the opportunity of a favourable wind, and in the night traverſed the ſea which ſeparates that iſland from France; he landed his men at dawn of day, and his firſt ſucceſs ſeemed to ſanction the temerity of the enterpriſe. The lieutenant-governor, with the principal inhabitants, were ſurpriſed, and in the moment of aſtoniſhment ſigned a capitulation; but the major part of the garriſon refuſed to accede to the conditions, their numbers were ſwelled by the natives who had recovered from their firſt panic; and the detachment of the baron de Rullecourt was encompaſſed and aſſailed on every ſide.—The baron himſelf fell gallantly fighting at the head of his faithful adherents, the greater part of the French were either cut to pieces or taken priſoners, and a few only with better fortune regained their veſſels, and eſcaped to the coaſt of Normandy with the melancholy intelligence of the fate of their companions.

Towards the latter end of June the fleet of France, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, under the command of the count de Guichen, quitted Breſt, and joined the fleet of Spain at Cadiz. The united ſquadrons, which preſented the formidable ſpectacle of fifty ſhips of the line, ſteered ſouth-eaſt, and detached two ſhips of the line, with ſeveral frigates, to eſcort the duke de Crillon and a conſiderable body of land forces to Minorca; the invaſion of which iſland had been determined on by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid. After performing this ſervice, the combined naval ſtrength of the houſe of Bourbon directed their courſe towards the Engliſh coaſts; admiral

admiral Darby, with the Britiſh fleet of twenty-three ſhips of the line, haſtily retired before them into the friendly harbour of Torbay; but the elements warred in favour of the Engliſh; a violent tempeſt diſperſed the united fleets, and compelled each of them to ſeek ſhelter from its fury in their own ports.

The French availed themſelves of their ſuperiority at ſea, to reinforce the duke de Crillon in his attack on Minorca, with ſeveral veteran regiments, under the command of the baron de Falkenheyn; but it was in the Weſt Indies and America that their principal efforts were directed. Towards the end of March monſieur de Graſſe, with twenty ſhips of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and ſeveral frigates, with ſix thouſand land forces, ſailed from Breſt for Martinico. Off Fort Royal he diſcerned the Britiſh fleet of ſeventeen ſail of the line commanded by admiral Hood. The convoy with which monſieur de Graſſe was encumbered, compelled him at firſt to prepare for action with caution; but four ſhips of the line having eluded the endeavours of the Britiſh admiral, and joined the French from Fort Royal, he now determined to avail himſelf of this decided ſuperiority, and to bring on a general engagement. In the mean time the Engliſh had been reinforced alſo by a ſhip of ſeventy-four guns, and their commander diſplayed admiral-ſkill in his manœuvres; yet the advantages of the French were numerous and evident, and a conflict of three hours was only terminated by night. On the return of day monſieur de Graſſe would have renewed the engagement, but the Engliſh, who had ſuffered ſeverely, bore away to Antigua; they were purſued by the French, who, incapable of forcing them under the batteries of that iſland, directed their operations to the reduction of the Britiſh ſettlements.

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In the beginning of the war, France had been ſeverely mortified by the loſs of St. Lucia, and ſhe now aſpired to the recovery of that iſland; great part of the Engliſh garriſon had been drafted away for the capture of St. Euſtatius, a wealthy ſettlement belonging to the Dutch; and while the captors revelled in their ſpoils, the marquis de Bouille, whoſe enterpriſing genius had had already been repeatedly diſplayed, with the viſcount Damas, and a conſiderable body of troops, landed on St. Lucia. They immediately occupied the town of Gros Iſlet, and ſummoned brigadier general St. Leger, the commanding officer, to ſurrender; but the marquis was ſoon convinced that the ſtrength of the Engliſh far exceeded what the natives, impatient to return under the government of France, had deſcribed; a greater object, and leſs difficult of acceſs, was in view; and the French commander having diſguiſed his intentions from the enemy by every preparation for a vigorous aſſault, ſuddenly reimbarked his troops in the night, and ſteered his courſe towards Tobago.

Againſt that iſland he had previouſly detached a ſmall French ſquadron, with a conſiderable body of troops, under the conduct of monſieur de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincent's. The feeble garriſon of Tobago, ſcarce amounting to five hundred men, gradually retired before the invaders to Concordia, a high ground, naturally ſtrong, and which commands a view of both ſides of the iſland. They were there inveſted by monſieur de Blanchelande; and the marquis de Bouille, ſoon after arriving with the fleet of France, aſſumed the ſupreme command.

Though that nobleman was poſſeſſed of ſuch a ſuperiority in the number of his troops, yet the reſiſtance of the garriſon of Tobago was long and obſtinate; during ſix days in the poſt of Concordia they

they maintained an undaunted countenance; and when the French had occupied the adjacent hills, which in ſome meaſure commanded the poſt, the Engliſh on a ſudden quitted it, and retreated to another ſtation almoſt equally ſtrong, and at a conſiderable diſtance.

But theſe efforts, though they protracted, could not avert the final ſubmiſſion of the iſland; the ardour of the marquis de Bouille was increaſed by the difficulties that ſucceſſively aroſe; under a burning ſun, he in perſon conducted his troops through the moſt intricate paſſages of the iſland; to unite terror to force he reduced to aſhes two of the neighbouring and moſt capital plantations; a ſquadron that had been diſpatched by admiral Rodney to the relief of Tobago, had been chaced, and with difficulty eſcaped the purſuit of the French fleet; and the inhabitants, hopeleſs of ſuccour, at length conſented to ſurrender. The marquis, inſtead of being irritated by the obſtacles their perſeverance had preſented, diſplayed an example of generoſity for all other ſucceſsful commanders, and granted to the vanquiſhed the ſame favourable conditions as had been extended to the inhabitants of Dominica.

Tobago had ſcarce ſubmitted to the dominion of France, before the Britiſh fleet, under admiral Rodney, appeared in ſight. Monſieur de Graſſe immediately got under ſail and offered his rival battle; the Engliſh informed of the total loſs of the iſland, the relief of which was moſt probably their object, thought proper to decline the encounter; and the French admiral, inſtead of conſuming his hours in a fruitleſs purſuit, reconveyed the marquis de Bouille to Martinico, touched at the Havannah to receive a conſiderable ſupply of money, and with twenty-eight ſail of the line and ſeveral frigates directed his courſe towards America, and anchored in the Cheſapeak the laſt day of Auguſt.

From the deſertion of general Arnold, the principal army of the Americans under general Waſhington had remained in a ſtate of inaction within their lines near New York, and were content with vigilantly obſerving the Britiſh commander at that place, who ſeemed ſatisfied with maintaining his ground, without attempting to extend his limits. The French, under count Rochambeau, incapable of undertaking any important enterpriſe alone, had diligently employed themſelves in ſtrengthening the fortifications of Rhode Iſland. But the war that languiſhed in this quarter, was revived with increaſe of fury in the ſouthern provinces. In South and North Carolina, and Virginia, a variety of obſtinate and indeciſive engagements had taken place between the generals Gates, Green, and Sumpter, in the ſervice of the United States, and the lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, who commanded the Britiſh forces. At Camden general Gates had ſuffered a ſevere defeat from an inferior army under lord Cornwallis; and though that nobleman had afterwards in his turn reaſon to lament the viciſſitudes of war, and was mortified by the total deſtruction of ſeveral detachments, yet a ſecond victory that he obtained at Guildford, in North Carolina, over general Greene, had confirmed his reputation, and extended the terror of his arms throughout the adjacent country.

The miniſters of Great Britain had early entertained an opinion that ſeems to have accompanied them throughout the courſe of the whole war; and the idea that the greateſt part of the Americans were ſtill inclined to ſubmit to the ancient form of government, was induſtriouſly inculcated in England, where it was neceſſary to deceive the people into the pecuniary grants requiſite for the continuance of hoſtilities: but the fallacy of this opinion was ſufficiently expoſed by the victories of lord Cornwallis; even after the ſplendid action of Guildford, the friends

friends that joined the Britiſh ſtandard were few, and inconſiderable in point of conſequence; and the victorious commander was ſoon obliged to abandon the ſcene of his triumph, and conſult his ſafety by a precipitate retreat into the province of Virginia.

The Engliſh had ſome time before detached their new convert, Arnold, to invade that country, which, interſected with wide and navigable rivers, afforded a proper theatre for their naval exertions, and which had largely contributed from its flouriſhing plantations to furniſh the reſources of Congreſs. The ardour of that officer, in the cauſe he had lately eſpouſed, was not inferior to that which he had formerly diſplayed in the ſervice of the United States. His ravages ſoon drew the attention of general Waſhington; and the marquis de la Fayette was detached with a ſmall but ſelect corps to obſerve his motions and haraſs his rear. The French at Rhode Iſland alſo thought that a proper opportunity offered of atoning for their former inactivity, and that they might render a moſt eſſential ſervice to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Cheſapeak. To reconnoitre that bay they diſpatched a ſhip of the line and ſome frigates; this ſmall ſquadron in its courſe fell in with and captured the Romulus, a Britiſh man of war of forty-four guns; and ſoon after count Rochambeau having embarked the land forces, with the French fleet under monſieur Ternay ſailed from Rhode Iſland.

A dreadful tempeſt had driven the Engliſh fleet from its ſtation before that iſland, but monſieur Ternay had ſcarce made Cape Henry, before he was diſagreeably ſurpriſed by the appearance of the Britiſh ſquadron under admiral Graves; an action immediately enſued, which though indeciſive, and attended with no particular loſs on either ſide, yet ſo far diſabled the French ſhips as to render it pru-

dent to return to Rhode Iſland, and diſconcerted the ſanguine hopes they had formed of affording their allies the moſt eſſential aſſiſtance.

In the interval general Clinton had ſtrongly reinforced the detachment in Virginia, and nominated to the chief command of it general Phillips, an officer of approved abilities. The inferiority of the marquis de la Fayette allowed him only to obſerve the motions of the enemy, and while he remained on the oppoſite ſide of James River, he witneſſed with indignation thoſe devaſtations which he was too weak to reſtrain.

It was at this critical juncture, when general Phillips had juſt fallen a victim to the heat of the climate, and the fatigues he had endured in a toilſome and deſultory war, that lord Cornwallis, unable any longer to ſubſiſt in the exhauſted province of Carolina, directed his attention to Virginia; with his way-worn army he traverſed a hoſtile country of above three hundred miles, and arrived at Peterſburgh a few days after general Phillips had breathed his laſt. He immediately aſſumed the chief command, was reinforced by about two thouſand infantry from New York, and diſplayed that active vigour, the prominent feature of his character. He completed the devaſtation which had been left unfiniſhed by Arnold, puſhed his ſucceſs as far as Williamſburgh, the capital of Virginia, on his retreat defeated a conſiderable corps which the marquis de la Fayette had preſſed forward to impede his paſſage of James River, and eſtabliſhed his place at arms at York Town, ſituated on the banks of the river of that name, and which, as it was navigable for ſhips of great ſize and burthen, enabled him to receive any ſuccours or ſupport by ſea.

This poſt, which at leaſt promiſed ſecurity, lord Cornwallis diligently applied himſelf to fortify; but the hour was now rapidly approaching, deſtined to terminate

terminate the ſucceſsful career of that commander, and by a deciſive blow finally to eſtabliſh the independence of America. By a ſeries of the moſt artful addreſs, general Waſhington had deceived his antagoniſt Clinton; count de Rochambeau had paſſed over from Rhode Iſland, and in conjunction with the American army, menaced New York with an immediate attack; that poſt, with its dependencies, was kept in a continual ſtate of alarm for above ſix weeks; when the combined army of French and Americans rapidly traverſed the Jerſeys, croſſed the Delaware, paſſed through Philadelphia, and arrived at the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Cheſapeak.

On the ſame day monſieur de Graſſe, with his fleet from the Weſt Indies, arrived alſo in the bay, where, after blocking up York river, he inſtantly applied himſelf to ſecure the river James, which he occupied with his armed veſſels and his cruiſers to a conſiderable diſtance; by this manœuvre he not only precluded lord Cornwallis from any retreat to the Carolinas, but alſo was enabled to convey in ſecurity the marquis de Saint Simon, with three thouſand three hundred land forces from the Weſt Indies, eighteen leagues up that river, where he formed a junction with the marquis de la Fayette, who had already been reinforced by general Wayne, and the ſuccours from Penſylvania.

The fleet of Monſieur de Graſſe conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips of the line; and the approach of a Britiſh ſquadron of nineteen ſhips of the line under the admirals Graves and Hood, might rather have furniſhed matter of exultation than dread; but the operations of monſieur de Graſſe chiefly tended to the reduction of lord Cornwallis's army at York Town; he expected every hour to be joined by the ſquadron from Rhode Iſland, commanded ſince the death of monſieur Ternay, by monſieur de Barras, whom

whom he knew had already ſailed with ſeveral tranſports, and a train of artillery for the ſiege of York Town, and fifteen hundred of his ſeamen were ſtill employed in tranſporting the French troops up James River. Under theſe circumſtances he conſidered it as unadviſable to hazard much; and though he ſtood out to ſea, and engaged the Engliſh fleet, he was ſatisfied with maintaining the honour of the flag of France; and without attempting to improve his advantage, he retired to his former ſtation in Cheſapeak bay, where he was ſoon after ſtrengthened by the arrival of monſieur de Barras.

The united forces of France and America now diligently proceeded cloſely to inveſt lord Cornwallis, who with ſeven thouſand ſelect troops ſtill occupied York Town. The count de Rochambeau, and the marquis de la Fayette, with an equal number of French, extended from the river above the town to a moraſs in the center, where they were met by the Americans under Waſhington, who occupied the oppoſite ſide from the river to that ſpot. Monſieur de Graſſe was entirely maſter of Cheſapeak bay; and the duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Wieden, already preſſed the Britiſh poſt at Glouceſter Point, which was defended by colonel Tarleton with about ſix hundred infantry and cavalry.

Thus having ſurrounded their prey on every quarter, the different commanders began to urge their attacks with a vivacity that precluded every hope of relief; the works of the Engliſh were penetrated by an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; their defences were in many places ruined; and moſt of their guns were ſilenced; two redoubts ſtill incommoded the progreſs of the allied army, but the trenches had ſcarce been opened a week before it was determined to attack theſe as ſoon as the approach of the evening ſhould conceal the motions of

the aſſailants. To balance the honour as well as the duty between both nations, the attack of one was committed to the French, and of the other to the Americans. The former advanced with that impetuoſity which ever has been their characteriſtic; and though the reſiſtance of the Engliſh was firm and gallant, they were at length driven from their poſt, and the ſtandard of France was diſplayed from the redoubt; the Americans on their ſide had been equally ſucceſsful, and the fate of lord Cornwallis appeared unavoidable; ſome damage occaſioned by two ſallies that he had made was quickly repaired: and his attempt to eſcape to the oppoſite ſide of the river was fruſtrated by the tempeſtuous weather and the vigilance of the French ſhips of war.

The ardour of count Rochambeau and general Waſhington was ſtimulated by the rumour of relief from general Clinton; and ten days after the trenches were firſt opened, every preparation was made for a final aſſault; but this ſcene of carnage was averted by the prudence of the Britiſh commander, who, ſenſible of his hopeleſs ſituation, reſolved not to ſacrifice wantonly the lives of the gallant men entruſted to his care; he accordingly opened a negociation, by which the troops under his command ſubmitted to become priſoners of war; the Guadaloupe frigate of twenty-four guns, with ſeveral tranſports, and fifteen hundred ſeamen, in the diviſion of the ſpoil were aſſigned to monſieur de Graſſe, in return for the French naval power and aſſiſtance; but the land forces, amounting to between five and ſix thouſand men, became the captives of the United States of America.

Such was the important and deciſive atchievement of France and America, which may be conſidered as ultimately ſealing the independence of the latter. The conduct of the French officers in the moment of victory had been as conſpicuous for humanity, as

their

their valour as had been diſtinguiſhed in the hour of danger; ſuch was the teſtimony of the vanquiſhed commander, who in his official diſpatches to the miniſters of Great Britain, declared, "their deli- "cate ſenſibility of our ſituation, their generous "and preſſing offers of money, both public and "private to any amount, has really gone beyond "what I can poſſibly deſcribe; and will I hope "make an impreſſion on the breaſt of every Britiſh "officer, whenever the fortune of war ſhould put "any of them into our power."

It was not alone the elder branch of the houſe of Bourbon that triumphed on the northern continent of America. An armament had been fitted out by Spain from the Havannah, and though at firſt it was ſcattered by a ſudden and violent tempeſt, yet a perſevering people continued their attempts, penetrated deep into Weſt Florida, and with an army of eight thouſand men, inveſted Penſacola, the capital of that province; general Campbell, the governor, made a gallant defence; but the weakneſs of his garriſon compelled him at length to ſurrender. The Spaniards, brave themſelves, reſpected the valour of their enemy; the moſt favourable terms of capitulation were granted, and the ſtandard of Spain was erected on the walls of Penſacola.

But Gibraltar, the favourite object of the court of Madrid, ſtill continued to deride her attempts, and fruſtrate her inceſſant enterpriſes. A ſcheme to deſtroy the Panther and Experiment, two Britiſh ſhips of war, by means of fire ſhips, was rendered abortive by the vigilance and intrepidity of the Engliſh captains; and Spain, throughout the whole ſiege, had reaſon to regret her treaſures laviſhly expended, and her troops fruitleſsly employed.

Holland, unprepared abroad and diſunited at home, was an ally that claimed the more immediate attention and ſupport of the court of Verſailles; in the

the Weſt Indies the Britiſh commanders had eagerly invaded the iſland of St. Euſtatius; that ſettlement during the war had become the general magazine of all nations; and the valuable commodities which it contained, became a prey to the rapacity of the victors. Yet the conquerors reaped not that advantage which they expected from their indiſcriminate confiſcation; ſeveral of the veſſels richly laden with ſpoil were intercepted on their voyage to Europe, and even in ſight of the Britiſh coaſt, by monſieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruizing off the Lizard with ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates. And before the cloſe of the year the iſland itſelf was recovered by the activity of the marquis de Bouille, who ſuddenly landed with a ſelect body of troops from Martinico, ſurpriſed colonel Cockburn the Engliſh commandant, and reſtored St. Euſtatius to the dominion of the Dutch the very day before count de Graſſe caſt anchor at Fort Royal from his deciſive triumph on the coaſt of America.

But it was in the Eaſt that the republic of Holland was moſt vulnerable; and her excluſive poſſeſſion of the ſpice iſlands, her wealthy and populous ſettlement of Batavia, afforded the moſt faſcinating allurements to the avarice of her enemies. In the beginning of the war France had received with indignation the intelligence that her ſettlements throughout Aſia had been ſwept away by the power of the Engliſh; ſhe therefore readily liſtened to propoſals which tended to reſtore her own colonies in the Eaſt, and to ſecure thoſe of her ally; ſhe ſigned a treaty with the republic, which was to put her troops in poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope, a port on the African coaſt the moſt convenient for refreſhments on the long voyage to India; and ſhe alſo engaged to detach an armament to act in conjunction with the Dutch forces in the Eaſt.

To

To fulfil this treaty, at the ſame time that the count de Graſſe ſailed from Breſt to the Weſt Indies, monſieur de Suffrein with five ſhips of the line and a conſiderable body of land forces was detached to the Eaſt, and the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, he diſcerned a Britiſh ſquadron of nearly equal force at anchor within the harbour; this had ſailed from England under the conduct of commodore Johnſtone, much about the ſame time as Suffrein had quitted Breſt, and was deſigned to ſurpriſe the Dutch ſettlement at the Cape of Good Hope. The impetuoſity of Suffrein, who was ſenſible how deeply the intereſts of his country were concerned in the deſtruction of this armament, prevailed over his reſpect to the crown of Portugal; and he heſitated not to enter a neutral harbour as an enemy, and to attack the Engliſh. But though in this enterpriſe he diſplayed the moſt daring ſpirit and undaunted reſolution, yet all the efforts of courage ſerved only to expoſe his ſhips to the deſtructive fire of his adverſary, who derived advantages from his ſituation that neither ſkill nor courage could compenſate. The French commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attack, and after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and reinforcing that ſettlement with a ſufficient number of troops to ſecure it from inſult, he ſteered to the iſland of Mauritius to join the count d'Orves, who, after the loſs of Pondicherry, had aſſembled at that place the ſcattered remnant of the French forces.

But while France rather hoped than expected to eſtabliſh her ancient power and influence on the coaſt of Coromandel, her ambitious views were ſeconded by a new and formidable enemy to Great Britain, who ſuddenly burſting through the unguarded paſſes, deluged with his myriads the devoted ſettlements of the Engliſh. This daring invader was Hyder

Ally

Ally, whoſe ſucceſsful ambition had raiſed him from an humble ſituation to an extenſive empire in the Eaſt, and who had eſtabliſhed ſuch a military force as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing. He had more than once diſputed the honour of victory with the Engliſh Eaſt India Company; and though frequently defeated, yet he ſtill appeared terrible, and had even menaced with his martial ſquadrons the capital of the victors, who were confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight, and derided all purſuit.

In the hour of preſumptuous confidence, the Engliſh had violated the dignity of his throne by the reduction of Mahe, a French ſettlement eſtabliſhed within his dominions, and under his protection. This inſult had awakened thoſe reſentments which had rather been ſuſpended than extinguiſhed by former treaties; the ſupineneſs of the government of Madraſs encouraged his hopes; he penetrated through the gauts, or narrow paſſes in the mountains, which ſeparate his territories from thoſe of the Engliſh, and with a celerity that exceeds deſcription, extended his bloody ravages over the face of the Carnatic. A conſiderable detachment, the flower of the Engliſh army on that coaſt, was overwhelmed after a gallant reſiſtance, by the irreſiſtible weight of his cavalry. General Munro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the ſettlement of Madraſs, was reduced to retreat before the torrent of his arms; Madraſs even trembled for her ſafety; and the progreſs of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote witn a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. After an obſtinate conflict Hyder was compelled to relinquiſh the field to the ſuperior ſkill of that veteran commander, and the perſevering valour of his troops; but his numerous cavalry was ſtill ſpread

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over the fertile fields of the Carnatic, and extended on every ſide the terror of his name.

It was under the preſſure of this unexpected and formidable invaſion that the Engliſh firſt received the intelligence of a rupture with the United States of Holland; and they diſplayed no ſmall degree of vigour in cruſhing the ſettlements of this new enemy before they could co-operate, or receive aſſiſtance from Hyder; in Bengal Chinſura, on the coaſt of Coromandel Negapatnam; and Trincomalè in the iſland of Ceylon, were ſurpriſed or reduced by the Engliſh; and Holland beheld with terror the ſtorm that threatened her ſettlements in Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas.

But if in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies the Dutch ſcarce diſplayed the ſhadow of reſiſtance, in Europe they diſcovered a degree of reſolution that aſtoniſhed their friends, appalled their enemies, and reſtored that reputation for patient and obſtinate courage which had emancipated them from the fetters of the houſe of Auſtria, and had raiſed them to conteſt with Great Britain the dominion of the ſeas. The Dogger Bank was the ſcene where the Dutch and Engliſh encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animoſity; their ſquadrons, which conſiſted of the ſame number of ſhips, ſeemed animated with a rage that knew no alternative between victory and death. The diſabled ſtate of their veſſels compelled at length the combatants to deſiſt; and though the Dutch, by retiring to their harbours, acknowledged the victory of the Engliſh, yet theſe were incapable of improving their advantage, and were glad alſo to ſhelter their ſhattered ſhips in port.

But whatever ſatisfaction France might derive from the ſpirit of her ally, it ſerved not to counterbalance that diſcontent with which the people in general beheld the diſmiſſal of a miniſter in whom they placed the moſt unbounded confidence. Monſieur

ſieur Necker, in the management of the finances, had acquired the reputation of activity, induſtry, and ſevere integrity; he had conceived the arduous but popular project of ſupporting a war by loans without taxes; and the rigid œconomy that he had introduced into all the departments of the royal houſehold, and the various reſources that preſented themſelves to his fertile genius, had ſupported him amidſt the difficulties that attended this ſyſtem. But his auſterity of temper had not rendered him equally acceptable to the ſovereign and his ſubjects; the repeated reforms he had recommended were repreſented as inconſiſtent with the dignity of the crown; he was diſmiſſed from his office of comptroller general, and monſieur Joli de Fleuri, counſellor of ſtate, was appointed to that important department.

The birth of the dauphin cloſed the memorable occurrences of the year, and though it could not extinguiſh the regret, ſerved to divert the attention of the Pariſians; the young prince was baptiſed by the cardinal de Rohan; the count of Provence and the princeſs Elizabeth repreſented as ſponſors the emperor of Germany and the princeſs of Piedmont, and beſtowed on their royal nephew the names of Lewis Joſeph Xavier and Francis.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLIV.

Reduction of St. Nevis and St. Chriſtopher's—Defeat and capture of count de Graſſe by admiral Rodney—Siege of Gibraltar—Campaign in the Eaſt Indies—Gallant conduct of monſieur de Suffrein—Defeat of colonel Braithwaite—Reduction of Trincomalè—Commotions at Geneva—Viſit of the grand duke and ducheſs of Ruſſia—Liberal Donation of the Clergy—Preparations for the next Campaign—Negociations of Peace—Preliminary articles between America and Great Britain—Between France and Great Britain—Between Spain and Great Britain—Operations in the Eaſt Indies—Death and character of Hyder Ally—Action between the French and Engliſh off the coaſt of Coromandel—Marquis de Buſſy inveſted in Cuddalore—Intelligence of the peace arrives in India.

A. D. 1782. THE advantages which, at the cloſe of the laſt campaign, had been obtained by the arms of France, were at the commencement of this, diligently improved by the miniſters of Lewis, and the greateſt exertions were called forth by the houſe of Bourbon to bring the war to a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful concluſion. The ſiege of Minorca, which had been undertaken in the preceding year, was terminated in the beginning of the preſent, by the ſurrender of St. Philips; the garriſon were made priſoners of war; and their commander, general Murray, acknowledged in the moſt expreſs terms the humane treatment they experienced from the victorious leaders, the duke de Crillon, and the baron de Falkenhayen.

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The capture of the army under lord Cornwallis had enſured the independence of America, and the ſubſequent operations in that quarter were confined to ſome faint ſtruggles made by the Engliſh in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was now at leiſure to direct her attention to the Eaſt and Weſt Indies; and monſieur de Graſſe from the Cheſapeak had ſteered his courſe to Martinico; his naval force, when collected, conſiſted of thirty ſhips of the line; but he had already detached four to convoy from St. Domingo the homeward bound trade to Europe. The court of Verſailles, to ſupply this deficiency, had fitted out at Breſt nine ſhips of the line, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil; theſe were accompanied by a numerous convoy of tranſports, deſtined for the ſervice of the Eaſt and Weſt; and they were eſcorted by the count de Guichen, who ſailed at the ſame time with ten ſhips of the line to join the grand fleet of Spain and Cadiz. Off Scilly they were intercepted by the Britiſh fleet of thirteen ſhips of the line under admiral Kempenfelt; the admirable manœuvres of that officer were ſeconded by the favourable ſtate of the wind; and the count de Guichen had the mortification to behold his convoy diſperſed, and ſeveral of them taken by an inferior force. He himſelf continued his courſe to Cadiz, while the marquis de Vaudreuil, having detached part of his ſquadron to the Cape of Good Hope, with the reſt joined monſieur de Graſſe at Martinico.

That commander immediately prepared to avail himſelf of his decided ſuperiority over the Engliſh ſquadron in thoſe ſeas. With the marquis de Bouille, who had already erected the ſtandard of France on the iſland of St. Nevis, he planned the attack of St. Chriſtopher's, one of the moſt conſiderable of the Weſt India iſlands that yet remained to Great Britain. The marquis landed with eight thouſand men

and

and a formidable train of artillery, while the count de Graſſe occupied with his fleet Baſſeterre Road, and ſeemed to preclude every hope of relief; general Frazer, the Engliſh commander, immediately retired to Brimſtone Hill, a ſtrong poſt, which he declared he would defend to the laſt extremity. But the operations of the French were ſoon interrupted by the appearance of a Britiſh ſquadron of twenty-two ſhips of the line, conducted by admiral Hood, an officer of approved ſkill and experience. The count de Graſſe, whoſe naval force conſiſted of twenty-nine large ſhips, heſitated not to quit his ſtation to encounter his daring adverſary. The action was partial and indeciſive; but in the courſe of it admiral Hood, by a ſudden change of diſpoſition, deceived the count de Graſſe, eluded his attack, and preſſing towards the iſland, gained the very anchorage in Baſſeterre Road that the French fleet had quitted.

Though the count de Graſſe could not but admire the ſuperior dexterity of his adverſary, he was by no means inclined to leave him in quiet poſſeſſion of his advantage. The next morning with his whole force he attacked the Engliſh ſquadron from van to rear; but theſe ſuſtained with a ſteady fire the repeated efforts of the French; and though the count in the courſe of the evening renewed the attempt, the damage that his ſhips had incurred compelled him reluctantly to deſiſt.

The marquis de Bouille could not be indifferent to the operations of the hoſtile fleets, whoſe fate was like to involve his own; but inſtead of deſponding or endeavouring to retreat, he puſhed his attacks with increaſe of ardour. Brimſtone Hill was cloſely inveſted on every ſide; and while he confided the blockade of that poſt to the marquis of St. Simon, he himſelf marched with four thouſand troops to encounter a detachment that had been landed from the Britiſh

Britiſh ſhips. Although the ſtrong ſituation and number of theſe, amounting to two thouſand four hundred men, rendered an aſſault imprudent, yet the marquis continued vigilantly to obſerve their motions till, hopeleſs of joining or ſuccouring their countrymen, they reimbarked; in the mean time every moment was aſſiduouſly employed in the annoyance of the Engliſh intrenched at Brimſtone Hill; the marquis de Bouille had again reſumed the command of the beſiegers; and the inceſſant fire of his artillery had reduced the works and buildings to a heap of ruin. The Engliſh, under the terror of immediate deſtruction, conſented to ſurrender a poſt that they were incapable of defending any longer; and the humanity of the marquis granted the ſame favourable terms of capitulation as had been agreed upon at the reduction of Dominica.

The Engliſh admiral was no ſooner informed of the fate of St. Chriſtopher's, than he determined to abandon a ſituation which was no longer either ſecure or uſeful; and this reſolution he executed with a ſecrecy and celerity that prevented all danger from the ſuperior force of count de Graſſe. Under cover of the night he cut his cables; and ſailing from Baſſeterre Road, directed his courſe towards Barbadoes, in hopes of joining a conſiderable ſquadron that was hourly expected from England; while the count de Graſſe and the marquis de Bouille, after the reduction of Montſerrat, returned to Martinico.

In that road had been aſſembled one hundred and fifty tranſports, with a large quantity of artillery, and a conſiderable body of land forces.—Theſe were deſtined for an enterpriſe which, had it proved ſucceſsful, muſt have extinguiſhed in the Weſt Indies the power of Great Britain. The count de Graſſe, whoſe fleet already amounted to thirty-three ſail of the line, fit for action, was to have been joined by a ſtrong Spaniſh ſquadron from the Havannah; and the united

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force of the houſe of Bourbon was to have been directed againſt Jamaica, the moſt flouriſhing ſettlement belonging to the Engliſh in that quarter of the globe.

In the purſuance of this deſign the count quitted Fort Royal Bay about the beginning of April, to proceed to the place of his deſtination; but he ſcarce loſt ſight of the Iſland of Martinico, before he deſcried the Britiſh fleet, commanded by admiral Rodney, and by late reinforcements from Europe ſwelled to thirty-ſix ſail of the line. He immediately hoiſted the ſignal for action, and ſuſtained with great gallantry the attack of the enemy; but intent on the grand object of his court, he availed himſelf of a favourable wind, and bore away to Guadaloupe.

But that proſperous fortune which hitherto had attended the enterpriſes of France, on this occaſion deſerted her.—In the late action the Zele, a ſeventy-four, had ſuffered material damage; and though the count de Graſſe had gained a conſiderable ſtart of admiral Rodney, yet the ſhattered condition of that ſhip allowed her not to keep up with the reſt of the fleet. The French admiral was now reduced to the painful alternative of hazarding the ſucceſs of his expedition by a ſecond action, or to endure the diſgrace of abandoning the Zele a prey to the purſuit of the enemy.

On this trying occaſion he determined to preſerve inviolate the honour of the French flag; and though his judgment has been arraigned, ſince, in relinquiſhing the Zele, and haſtening to join the Spaniſh ſquadron, he might have ſeverely revenged the loſs of that ſhip by the probable reduction of Jamaica, yet the more honourable reſolution was in ſome meaſure ſanctioned by the ſtate of the fleet under his command, and the probability that this engagement, like all the preceding ones, might prove indeciſive.

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In this hope he bore down to the ſuccour of the Zele, and compelled the moſt forward of the Engliſh ſhips to retire at the moment that they were ready to attack her; the approach of night precluded all immediate action; but in the morning the French admiral found the Engliſh had gained the wind of him, and that he muſt ſtake the fortune of France on a deciſive engagement. This was continued from ſeven in the morning till half paſt ſix in the evening, when the ſetting ſun put an end to the conteſt and to the hopes of France. The Ville de Paris, of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Graſſe himſelf, the Glorieux, the Hector, and the Cæſar of ſeventy-four, with the Ardent of ſixty-four, were compelled to ſtrike to the ſuperior fortune of Great Britain; the Cæſar ſoon after caught fire and blew up; while the marquis de Vaudreuil collected part of the ſcattered fleet, and with nineteen ſhips of the line eſcaped to Martinico; the reſt, ſhattered and diſperſed, endeavoured to reach the neareſt ports, and eſcape the purſuits of the victors.

If the prudence of the count de Graſſe was in ſome meaſure impeached, his courage was univerſally acknowledged; though wounded, he defended his ſhip to the laſt extremity; and before he conſented to ſtrike his flag, the Ville de Paris reſembled a wreck. He was received on board the Barfleur with thoſe marks of reſpect that the brave never fail to ſhew to each other; after continuing a ſhort time at Jamaica, he was conveyed to England, and was there honoured by the conſtant attention of the royal family, while the applauſe of the multitude, who admired the perſonal gallantry of their enemy, contributed to ſooth the painful recollection of defeat.

The misfortunes of France ended not with the twelfth of April. The Cato and the Jaſon, two

men of war of ſixty-four guns each, with the Amiable of thirty-two, and the Ceres of eighteen guns, were taken by a ſquadron under admiral Hood, detached from the main Engliſh fleet; the ſame baneful influence ſeemed alſo to extend to Europe, and in that month the Pegaſe of ſeventy-four guns, and the Actionnaire of ſixty-four, which had ſailed from Breſt for the Eaſt Indies, with ten ſhips of their convoy, were captured by the Engliſh off Uſhant.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, after the late defeat, ſteered with the remnant of the fleet that he could collect from Cape François to America; but riſing under the preſſure of calamity, he previouſly detached monſieur Perouſe in the Sceptre of ſeventy-four guns, with two large frigates, againſt the remote poſſeſſions and property of the Engliſh Hudſon's Bay Company. As the marquis was unacquainted with the defenceleſs ſtate of theſe ſettlements, he added three hundred ſoldiers, with ſome mortars and cannon for the ſieges that might preſent themſelves.

But the only difficulties that monſieur Perouſe encountered were thoſe which attended the navigation of obſcure ſtraits and gulphs, among the frozen regions of the north; and for three weeks, from the moment that they paſſed the iſlands of Reſolution, which mark the entrance into Hudſon's Straits, they were inceſſantly expoſed to new and imminent peril; notwithſtanding the power of the ſun in the month of July, the ſhips at one time were ſo faſt locked up in the ice, that the ſeamen went on foot from one to the other; and even after they had extricated themſelves, things appeared ſo hopeleſs, that monſieur Perouſe even meditated on ſending back the Sceptre with one of the frigates to the Weſt Indies, and of wintering himſelf with the other frigate and a part of the troops in the Bay. So ſevere a trial of his conſtancy was however prevented

vented by the appearance of a ſmall opening in the ice two days afterwards; through this the ſhips forced their way with a preſs of ſail, and after diſcovered, to their no ſmall joy, the Engliſh colours flying from a fort on the banks of Churchhill River.

If the toils and dangers of the voyage had been great, ſome compenſation was afforded by the facility of the conqueſt; the forts of the Hudſon's Bay Company were only garriſoned by a motley crew of ſtorekeepers, clerks, and ſervants, who ſurrendered on the firſt appearance of an European enemy. Some few ſought ſhelter in the deep and impenetrable woods; and monſieur Perouſe having by the deſtruction of the forts and merchandize completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preſerve one of the magazines, in which he depoſited proviſions, arms, and ammunition for the uſe and ſubſiſtence of the fugitives who had eluded his purſuit, and who during the long and approaching winter could not have received any relief from home.

While France in every quarter of the globe diſplayed that active ſpirit which could not be repreſſed by defeat; the patient courage of the Spaniards was ſtill exerciſed in the inceſſant ſiege of Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aſpired to additional fame from this more arduous enterpriſe; and the count d'Artois, and the duke of Bourbon, diſdaining the eaſe and luxury of Verſailles, animated the camp of Saint Roch by their preſence. But they had ſcarce arrived before they endured the mortification of beholding the principal works of the beſiegers deſtroyed. A heavy fire of hot ſhot and ſhells from the batteries of the garriſon ſoon communicated the deſtructive flames to the batteries and magazines of the Spaniards,

ards, and the labour of months was conſumed in a few hours.

Yet the court of Madrid, though often baffled ſtill perſevered; and to preclude the garriſon of Gibraltar from the hope of relief, the combined fleets of France and Spain, conſiſting of forty-four ſhips of the line, were directed to block up the harbour. This was but the prelude to a new and different mode of attack, which had long been meditated, and on which the moſt ſanguine expectations were grounded. Ten ſhips of different ſizes, from ſix hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were ſecured by every art that ingenuity could deviſe, and provided with every offenſive or defenſive material that experience ſuggeſted, or the wealth of Spain could furniſh. Two hundred and twelve braſs guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-ſix pounds, menaced from their maſſy decks immediate deſtruction; they were ſupported by a ſufficient number of frigates, and three hundred large boats were alſo collected for the conveyance of the troops that were ready to avail themſelves of the confuſion of the garriſon, and the breaches that it was expected the floating batteries muſt ſoon occaſion. But Gibraltar was entruſted to the care of general Elliot, an officer whoſe vigilance, courage, and unſhaken reſolution were never excelled; and who with the caution and experience of age, preſerved the activity and enterpriſe of youth. The fire from the floating batteries was indeed terrible; but they were ſoon anſwered by the thunder of the garriſon; and the ſame engines of deſtruction that had proved fatal to the Spaniſh preparations on ſhore, now blaſted their hopes at ſea. A ſhower of hot balls and ſhells in a few hours involved the floating batteries in flames; the gun boats of the Engliſh prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the aſſiſtance of their country-

countrymen; to avoid the rapid progreſs of one deſtructive element, the miſerable men were compelled to confide themſelves to another; part periſhed by the fire, part were overwhelmed by the ſea, and the ſcanty remnant was only ſaved by the Britiſh ſeamen, who diſcovered the ſame ardour in relieving their enemies, as they had diſplayed an hour before in conquering them.

One reſource ſtill remained to the houſe of Bourbon; and the beſiegers, thus fatally baffled in every aſſault, now reſolved patiently to await the ſlow but certain effects of famine. To prevent the garriſon from receiving any ſupplies, the combined fleets were directed to ſtretch acroſs the bay; but even this diſpoſition could not enſure ſucceſs; a violent tempeſt that aroſe ſhattered their ſhips, and drove on ſhore the Triumphant, a Spaniſh man of war of ſeventy-four guns; and the Engliſh fleet of thirty-four ſail of the line, with a conſiderable convoy, before they could recover from their confuſion, entered the Straits, and landed the troops and proviſions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and indeciſive action took place off the Straits mouth; but the Engliſh had already effected the object of their expedition; and the French and Spaniſh commanders judged it not prudent to preſs an engagement which, if adverſe, might be attended by the moſt fatal conſequences, and, if ſucceſsful, could not tend to the immediate reduction of the fortreſs.

If the war languiſhed in America, it was reſumed with increaſe of ardour in the Eaſt, and the coaſts of Coromandel were ſtained with the blood of the contending powers. From the Cape of Good Hope monſieur Suffrein had proceeded with favourable winds to the iſland of Mauritius; he there reſigned the command to his ſenior officer, the count d'Orves; and the French fleet, increaſed by this junction to ten ſhips of the line, and one of fifty guns, beſides

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ſeveral large frigates, ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel, accompanied by a number of tranſports and ſtore ſhips, with a conſiderable body of land forces. On the voyage the count d'Orves, whoſe zeal in the ſervice had roſe ſuperior to the infirmities of a debilitated conſtitution, expired, and the ſole command of the fleet devolved on monſieur Suffrein, whoſe ſkill and courage have deſervedly ranked him among the moſt celebrated naval characters of the age.

On his paſſage he fell in with the Hannibal, a Britiſh man of war of fifty guns, which, after a gallant but fruitleſs reſiſtance, was compelled to ſurrender, and ſwelled the number of the French ſquadron. With this addition to his ſtrength he ſwept the Coromandel coaſt, and entered Madraſs Roads in hopes of ſurpriſing, according to the intelligence he had received, the Engliſh admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, with only ſix ſhips of the line. This force he conſidered himſelf capable of eaſily overwhelming; the loſs of the numerous trading ſhips and tranſports in the road muſt have attended the deſtruction of the fleet; and while ſuch an unexpected calamity ſpread terror through the town of Madraſs, the French forces, joined by Hyder Ally's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks againſt it by land, and the victorious ſquadron would have aſſailed it by ſea.

From this flattering illuſion, which promiſed to determine the war at a ſingle blow, monſieur Suffrein was awakened to a diſappointment as mortifying as it was unexpected; a few days before the Engliſh ſquadron had joined by a reinforcement from Europe; they had at the ſame time been apprized of the approach of monſieur Suffrein; three hundred land forces had been detached from Madraſs to ſtrengthen their numbers; and the French admiral now beheld, inſtead of the defenceleſs ſquadron

dron he fondly expected to ſurpriſe, nine ſhips of the line, drawn up in proper order, and ready to receive him.

Under theſe circumſtances all views of attack were abandoned, and monſieur Suffrein ſtood out to ſea, with the intention of landing the land forces to the ſupport of Hyder Ally. The Engliſh, who penetrated his deſign, immediately followed, and an action enſued the next morning, long and bloody, but indeciſive. The preſervation of his convoy was the chief object of the French commander, but in the courſe of the engagement he diſplayed a degree of intrepidity that extorted the applauſe of his adverſaries. Night only parted the combatants; and monſieur Suffrein repreſſing his ardour, and anxious to ſecure the retreat of his convoy, ſtood off to the north-eaſt.

This important object was no ſooner attained than the French admiral once more directed his courſe in ſearch of the Engliſh. The latter, during this interval, had been reinforced from Europe by two men of war of ſeventy-four guns each; but this formidable acceſſion of ſtrength could not damp the courage or alter the reſolution of monſieur Suffrein; he himſelf led the attack on board the Heros of ſeventy-four guns, and continued to engage for a conſiderable time the Engliſh admiral within piſtol ſhot. The damages ſuſtained by the Heros induced him to ſhift his flag into the Hannibal, a French ſhip of equal force, and by his ſuperior fire he diſabled and drove out of the line the Monmouth of ſixty-four guns. Though every effort was made to board that ſhip, ſhe was reſcued by the approach of three other Engliſh ſhips; and the hoſtile fleets, after a fierce and bloody conteſt, in which they had diſplayed ſimilar gallantry, and ſuffered ſimilar loſs, ſeparated as if by mutual conſent; for ſeveral days following they however kept ſight of each other;

but

but their reciprocal damages ſuſpended on both ſides all idea of attack; the Engliſh retired to Trincomalè, and the French ſquadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the iſland of Ceylon, and about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of Trincomalè.

The war on land raged not with leſs fury than at ſea. In the general deſtruction of the French ſettlements on the commencement of hoſtilities, a ſmall band had found ſhelter in the dominions of Hyder Ally, and ever ſince, under the command of monſieur Lally, had given vigour to the operations of that enterpriſing prince. They now, in conjunction with Tippo Saib, the ſon of Hyder, and who inherited the daring ſpirit of his father, attacked a Britiſh detachment under colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, for the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. This ſmall but ſelect corps conſiſted of two thouſand veteran infantry, with thirteen field pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two ſucceſſive days they repulſed with undaunted reſolution the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of tewnty thouſand; but on the third they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed, and were led on by monſieur Lally himſelf. The humanity of that officer was not leſs conſpicuous than his courage; he not only iſſued orders for putting a ſtop to the carnage, but haſtened perſonally, and with apparent hazard, to chaſtiſe and reſtrain the cruel fury of the black cavalry, five of whom periſhed by his own hand in the generous exertion. He alſo prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the priſoners to his care, and endeavoured to ſooth their misfortunes by every mark of kindneſs and reſpect; nor can it have eſcaped the reader, that during the whole courſe of the war, the French and Engliſh mutually vied with each other

other in acts of generous compaſſion as well as daring valour.

In the firſt engagement with the Engliſh fleet, the ardour of monſieur Suffrein had been reſtrained by a prudent attention to his convoy. He ſoon after landed at Porto Novo the land forces and artillery that had been entruſted to his care. Theſe were joined by a body of native troops from Hyder Ally; and the combined army immediately marched to the ſiege of Cuddalore. The feeble garriſon in that place was not long able to reſiſt their arms; and monſieur Duchemin, the French commander, having ſecured a future poſt for the reception of ſuccours, which France before was deſtitute of, now proceeded to more diſtant conqueſts. He accordingly inveſted Permacoil to the northward, and after the reduction of that fort, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder Ally, and in concert with that prince meditated an attack on Vandiwaſh.

The approach of the Engliſh compelled them to abandon that enterpriſe; and the combined army, ſtrong in their numbers, poſſeſſed themſelves alſo of ſuch advantageous poſts as defied an aſſault. But the Britiſh commander, general Coote, having menaced the ſiege of Arnee, a ſtrong fortreſs in which Hyder's great magazines were depoſited, that prince relinquiſhed his ſituation, and advanced to the protection of it. A battle enſued, in which the allies were routed by the ſuperior diſcipline of their adverſaries. But the native troops, chiefly compoſed of cavalry, eaſily eluded the purſuit of the victors; and monſieur Duchemin had cautiouſly avoided expoſing the French, whom he wiſhed to preſerve entire, till the arrival of the marquis de Buſſy with a conſiderable force, an event that was daily expected, might enable them to act with efficacy.

In

In conſequence of this plan he retired to Cuddalore, which he induſtriouſly ſtrengthened by new works, and rendered ſecure from any ſudden inſult. The indiſpoſition of general Coote about the ſame time compelled him to quit the field; and the exhauſted ſtate of the country affording ſcarce any ſubſiſtence to the hoſtile armies, no event of any conſiderable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

But this ceſſation was entirely confined to the land; and the Indian ocean was ſtill deſtined to be the ſcene of hard and bloody action. Monſieur Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coaſt of Coromandel; and having refreſhed his fleet at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their ſtrong and great place at arms, both for the land and ſea ſervice. It was his object to attack the Engliſh ſquadron before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had ſailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furniſhed at Cuddalore with four hundred French, and as many Seapoys; and to theſe were added three hundred artillery men, than which no aid could be more thoroughly effective.

Thus ſtrengthened, he appeared off Negapatam, where the Engliſh fleet lay at anchor, and admiral Hughes, impatient of the inſult, immediately quitted the ſecurity of his ſtation to meet his rival. The number of ſhips on each ſide was the ſame as in the laſt engagement; the ſame courage and ſkill were diſplayed; and the event was nearly ſimilar; the French fleet was however reduced to retire firſt from action; the captain of the Severe of ſixty-four guns even ſtruck his colours; but the officer next in rank immediately aſſumed the command, renewed the engagement, and brought off the ſhip, which, with the reſt of the ſquadron, reached Cuddalore;

dalore; while admiral Hughes having kept the ſea about a fortnight longer, proceeded to Madras.

Monſieur de Suffrein uſed the utmoſt induſtry and diſpatch in refitting his ſquadron; and having received advice from the ſieur d'Aymar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Ceylon, in his own ſhip the St. Michael of ſixty-four guns, accompanied by the Illuſtre of ſeventy-four, and the ſecond diviſion of the marquis de Buſſy's troops, the French admiral immediately ſailed from Cuddalore, and having joined this ſquadron, proceeded with his whole force to the attack of Trincomalè, where he arrived toward, the end of Auguſt.

The fire of the Engliſh batteries from that place could not prevent his fleet from anchoring in the moſt advantageous ſtation for the annoyance of the garriſon; the landing of the troops under the conduct of the baron d'Agoult was effected the next day, and the place was immediately inveſted. After two days employed in erecting batteries, thoſe on the left were opened early in the morning, and ſoon gained ſuch a decided ſuperiority that the Engliſh canon were ſilenced before night. On the following day monſieur de Suffrein, encouraged by this ſucceſs, ſummoned the garriſon; and captain Macdowal, the Britiſh commandant, convinced that all further defence was fruitleſs, conſented to capitulate.

The terms that he demanded were immediately ſubſcribed by the generoſity and prudence of the French commanders. The honours of war were granted in the fulleſt extent; the garriſon was to be directly conveyed to Madras, in ſhips provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garriſon, were to be ſecured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were to be preſerved inviolate.

Monſieur

Monſieur de Suffrein had but ſcarce time to poſſeſs and ſecure his new acquiſition, when the Engliſh fleet, on the ſecond of September, was deſcried off Trincomalè; admiral Hughes had been lately joined by a ſhip of 74 guns; but ſtill the advantage was on the ſide of the French, and they were ſuperior to their adverſaries by one ſhip of the line, and two of fifty guns. Monſieur de Suffrein now flattered himſelf the moment was arrived when he might eſtabliſh the dominion of France in thoſe ſeas by a glorious and deciſive victory. He accordingly got under ſail, and ſtood out to ſea; and about three o'clock in the evening the action became general. Monſ. de Suffrein himſelf in the Heros again encountered admiral Hughes in the Superbe, and the rival commanders maintained a cloſe and bloody conflict till half paſt five; had the other French officers imitated the conduct of their chief, that day had probably avenged the fatal defeat of monſieur de Graſſe; but ſeveral ſeemed to conſider their own perſonal ſafety beyond the honour of their country, and though the admiral himſelf, with his ſhip nearly diſmaſted, and one-third of his gallant crew killed and wounded, bravely perſevered, he perceived with indignation his hopes of conqueſt blaſted by the cautious manœuvres of his followers. Under cover of the night he reluctantly condeſcended to retire to Trincomalè; whence, no longer under the neceſſity of diſguiſing his reſentments, he ſent ſix of his captains under arreſt to the iſland of Mauritius; the approach of thoſe hurricanes which at a certain ſeaſon of the year ſweep with deſtructive fury the coaſt of Coromandel, compelled the hoſtile ſquadrons to conſult their mutual ſafety; and while the French ſought ſhelter at Achem, a port belonging to the iſland of Sumatra, the Engliſh retired to the friendly harbour of Bombay.

While

While the fleets and armies of France were thus occupied in the eaſt, the attention of her miniſters at home was directed to the commotions which agitated the republic of Geneva. By the original conſtitution of Geneva, the ſovereign power of the ſtate was inveſted in the general council, which conſiſted of the citizens promiſcuouſly aſſembled. By degrees the magiſtrates and ſenate had increaſed their own authority, and diminiſhed the privileges of the people. The latter had not ſuffered theſe innovations without repeated remonſtrances; and the taxes which the ſenate impoſed, and the ſeverity with which they puniſhed thoſe who were moſt loud in their oppoſition, increaſed the number of the diſaffected. Such a ſtate of things naturally occaſioned frequent conteſts; and to prevent a continuance of diſputes, the democratical party required a regular code of laws, which ſhould be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known ſtandard of their obedience. This ſalutary project, which might have reſtored mutual confidence, was defeated by the intrigues of the ariſtocracy; the magiſtrates were determined not to circumſcribe the authority they had hitherto poſſeſſed; and in ſupport of their juriſdiction ſolicited the interference of foreign powers.

Of theſe the moſt conſiderable was the king of France, who, as protector of the republic, concerted with the king of Sardinia and the cantons of Zurich and Bern, the means of reſtoring tranquillity to Geneva. They at length formed a code, which lodged the ſupreme power in the magiſtrates; and to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thouſand men belonging to the king of France, the king of Sardinia, and the Swiſs cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably ſupported; the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces, and the

pretenſions

pretenſions of the ſyndics were eſtabliſhed by the count de Jancourt, the count of Marmora, and meſſieurs Steiguer and Valtevalle, the miniſters plenipotentiary of the mediating powers. A general amneſty was at the ſame time publiſhed, out of which only nineteen perſons were excepted; two of theſe were deprived of their employments, ſeven were condemned to perpetual exile, and the reſt were baniſhed for ten years; but the ſpirits of the inhabitants were ſeverely wounded by theſe new regulations; and a great number heſitated not to quit their ancient habitations, in ſearch of that freedom which they conſidered themſelves deprived of in their native country.

Paris, amidſt the gloom which naturally accompanies a long and extenſive war, received a tranſient ray of ſplendour from the viſit of the grand duke and ducheſs of Ruſſia; theſe illuſtrious travellers were peculiarly gratified by the marked attention of Lewis and his royal conſort; but the viſits of ſovereigns, and their apparent ſucceſſors, have become ſo frequent of late years, as no longer to excite the ſpeculations of ſtateſmen; and the grand duke and ducheſs, after taſting, during a ſhort month, the ſplendid enjoyments of the capital of France, directed their ſteps again towards the north.

With the adminiſtration of monſieur Necker had expired the great and popular ſyſtem of ſupporting a war, without increaſing the burthens of the people. The management of the finances had not long been entruſted to monſieur Fleuri, before the people were again awakened to a ſenſe of their ſituation, by a variety of edicts and impoſts, all of them probably neceſſary, but ſome of them undoubtedly grievous. Theſe could not fail of recalling to their rememorance the virtuous œconomy of the late miniſter, whom they had beheld diſmiſſed with regret,

gret, and for whoſe reſtoration they inceſſantly languiſhed.

To multiply the reſources of government, without augmenting the burthens of the public, the miniſters endeavoured to kindle throughout the capital and different provinces, a flame of enthuſiaſm, which, if productive of no ſolid advantage, might yet dazzle the eyes of the multitude, and awe the enemies of France. The defeat of count de Graſſe had impreſſed the kingdom with general grief and conſternation; and to repair the loſs that the national marine had ſuſtained, ſeveral ſtates and wealthy communities were prevailed upon to diſplay their zeal in building and fitting out ſhips of war, according to their reſpective ſtrength and affluence.

The liberality of the clergy this year was ſtill more honourable to themſelves, and more conſiſtent with their ſacred profeſſion. To the exigencies of the ſtate they granted a free gift of fifteen millions of livres. At the ſame time they requeſted the ſovereign to accept an additional million, to be inviolably applied to the comfort and maintenance of thoſe ſeamen who had been wounded in the courſe of the war, and to the ſupport of the widows and orphans of thoſe who had befallen, gallantly fighting in the defence of the naval glory of France.

Yet theſe contributions, though they reflected the higheſt honour on the donors, were but a partial and ſcanty ſupply, while the immenſe preparations of France demanded the moſt ſolid and effectual ſupport. In conjunction with the courts of Madrid and the Hague, Lewis was determined this year to make the moſt powerful efforts to bring the war to a concluſion. The combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon ſtill maintained their ſuperiority, in Europe, over the Engliſh. The marquis de Buſſy with three ſhips of the line, three A. D. 1783.

thouſand land troops, and a conſiderable train of artillery, ſupported the hopes of France in the eaſt, and already aſpired to the conqueſt of the coaſt of Coromandel. Nine ſhips of the line, and thirty tranſports, in which were embarked ſeven thouſand five hundred ſelect ſoldiers, ſailed from Breſt to America, under the conduct of monſieur de Vialis, to reinforce the marquis de Vaudreuil, and to complete the expulſion of the Engliſh from that continent; while the States General of Holland agreed to ſupply, at their own expence, ten ſhips of the line, which were to rendezvous at Breſt, and to act in concert with the Squadrons of France. The count d'Eſtaing, grown grey in naval combats, was called by the general applauſe to the ſupreme command, and in the room of don Lewis de Cordova, was appointed to lead to victory the combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon.

Such were the preparations for the enſuing campaign, which promiſed the moſt important advantages to France, whence the voice of peace was again heard, and Lewis conſented to ſacrifice his ambition to the eaſe and happineſs of his people. The miniſters of Great Britain, whoſe imprudence and incapacity had plunged their country in a war as calamitous in the concluſion, as it was impolitic in the origin, were at length, by the clamours of the multitude, and the indignation of parliament, removed from the councils of their ſovereign; and they were ſucceeded by men who no longer nouriſhed the frantic idea of controlling the independence of America; the freedom of that continent had been the grand object of France; the defeat in the Weſt Indies, and the repulſe at Gibraltar, were ſtill deeply impreſſed on the mind of Lewis; and though his vaſt armaments, and the reſources of his allies, preſented the faireſt proſpect of ſucceſs in the enſuing campaign, he was not inſenſible of the various

ous accidents to which military operations were liable, and how little he could confide in a naval ſuperiority, which in a moment might be annihilated by the rage of a fickle and turbulent element.

Theſe conſiderations induced him to liſten to the proffered and powerful mediation of the two firſt potentates in Europe, the emperor of Germany and the empreſs of Ruſſia; and the count de Vergennes, who ſtill occupied the poſt of ſecretary of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert the miniſter at Bruſſels, but who had lately proceeded to Paris to conduct this important negociation. The way was already ſmoothed for the reſtoration of the public tranquillity by proviſional articles ſigned at the concluſion of the laſt year, between the States of America and Great Britain, and which were to conſtitute a treaty of peace finally to be concluded, when that between France and Great Britain took place.

By theſe articles the freedom, ſovereignty, and independence of the Thirteen United States were individually by name, and in the fulleſt and moſt expreſs terms acknowledged; and all claims to their governments and territorial rights were for ever relinquiſhed by the crown of Great Britain. Several lines were drawn to preclude all future diſputes about boundaries; and on the ſea coaſts, as the Britiſh forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States, New York, Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, Charles Town, and Nova Scotia, with all their dependencies, were given up; and an unlimited right of fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and all other places where both nations had been hitherto accuſtomed to fiſh, was granted to the Americans.

Thus had France the ſatisfaction of ſtripping Great Britain of thoſe colonies ſo long her pride and boaſt, and in erecting a new power acroſs the

Atlantic, to have ſecured to herſelf a grateful and potent ally. This primary object was therefore no ſooner attained, than the count de Vergennes quickened the negociations of his own court; and on the twentieth of January ſigned at Paris, with Mr. Fitzherbert, the preliminary articles of peace.

By theſe France acquired an extent of fiſhery on the coaſt of Newfoundland, which extended from Cape St. John in about fifty degrees north latitude, on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, round by the north to Cape Raye, on the weſtern coaſt, in forty-ſeven degrees and fifty minutes latitude; ſhe alſo regained the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, and tacitly delivered from any reſtriction in point of fortification, with which they had before been diſgracefully incumbered.

In the Weſt Indies, England reſtored to her the iſland of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the iſland of Tobago; but France conſented to relinquiſh in return the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat.

In Africa, France was inveſted in full right with the river Senegal, and all its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podoz, Galem, Arguin, and Portendia; and obtained alſo reſtitution of the iſland of Gorée; but, on the other hand, ſhe guaranteed to Great Britain the poſſeſſion of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

In the Eaſt, France regained, with conſiderable additions, all that had been wreſted from her by Great Britain in the courſe of the war; all her eſtabliſhments in Bengal and Orixa were to be reſtored, and liberty was given for ſurrounding Chandenagor with a wet ditch; Pondicherry and Carical were likewiſe reſtored to her; her ſtandard was again to be erected on Mahè, and ſhe was once more reinſtated in her factory at Surat; while the king of

Great

Great Britain was bound to procure from the princes, whoſe property they were, certain ſpecified neighbouring diſtricts round theſe places which were to be annexed to them as dependencies.

In Europe, where the dominion of France could not be extended, her dignity and glory were ſtudiouſly conſulted. The degrading conditions which had marked the calamitous cloſe of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, which had been revived in that of his ſucceſſor, and ſtipulated the demolition of the works round Dunkirk, were for ever abrogated and ſuppreſſed; and Lewis the Sixteenth enjoyed the ſplendid ſatisfaction of reſtoring to France the entire ſovereignty over her own territories.

Nor was the other branch of the houſe of Bourbon neglected on this occaſion; long diſuſed to victory, and accuſtomed to behold her boundaries gradually recede, Spain now taſted the ſweets of acquiſition; though continually baffled and repulſed before Gibraltar, her pride was ſoothed by the ceſſion of the important iſland of Minorca in the Mediterranean: and to the boundleſs poſſeſſions which ſhe already held in South America, were now added the fertile provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida on the northern continent. Some retribution was however to be made; and the Bahama Iſlands, the moſt unworthy of her conqueſts, were reſtored to Great Britain.

But Holland had entered too late into the war, and had been guided by too evident a regard for her own commercial intereſts, to merit much ſupport from the court of Verſailles; the States-general were therefore left to ſtruggle with the difficulties that preſented themſelves, and to afford a future example to other powers with how much caution they ſhould interfere in the quarrels of more mighty potentates. That cloſe connection, which once had ſubſiſted between the Hague and London, was for ever diſſolved; and

and the Dutch diſcovered, that though they had loſt an old, they had not yet acquired a new ally.

Though tranquillity was thus reſtored to Europe, Africa, and America, Aſia, diſtant from the ſcene of negociation, continued ſtill expoſed to the ravages of war. Hyder Ally, whoſe aſpiring genius had ſo long and ſeverely agitated that quarter of the globe, had ſunk into the grave, and had left behind a character ſcarce to be paralelled in the annals of the Eaſt. His mind was ſo vaſt and comprehenſive as at once to reach and embrace all the parts of war and of government; as a warrior, the Carnatic was a mournful teſtimony of his atchievements; as a ſtateſman the internal regulation of his own territories proclaimed his ſagacity; though daring in war, he was far from being naturally cruel; and ſtrictly obſervant of his own word, he puniſhed with rigour in others that breach of faith which he abhorred. He deſpiſed, and diſpenſed with, as far as with propriety it could be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; and diſplaying in his own perſon the frank manners of a camp, inſtead of the proud diſtance and auſtere reſerve of an eaſtern deſpot.

His ſon, Tippoo Saib, equally bold, prompt, and vigilant, but leſs ſcrupulous, and more ferocious, was the heir of his throne and enterpriſes; he was already diſtinguiſhed by his ſucceſſive victories over colonel Baillie in the Carnatic, and colonel Braithwaite on the banks of the Coleroon; and his enemies were ſoon convinced that the acceſſion to royalty had not damped his ardour, or chilled his martial ſpirit. General Mathews, a Britiſh officer, had penetrated with a ſelect detachment to Bednore, the capital of the wealthy kingdom of Canore; his progreſs had been marked by cruelty, rapine, and avarice;

avarice; and his rapacity not only ſtimulated him to plunder with unfeeling aſſiduity the proſtrate city, but even to defraud his companions of their portion of the ſpoils. The avenger of his country's injuries was however at hand, and general Mathews had ſcarce time to indulge in the contemplation of his newly acquired riches, before he was alarmed by the approach of Tippoo Saib, who with an hoſt of cavalry, and the ſmall corps of French under the command of monſieur Lally, preſſed forwards to chaſtiſe the temerity of the invader. The Engliſh commander marched out to meet the exaſperated prince; but neither his ſtrength or ſkill ſeemed proportioned to his preſumption; his ranks were inſtantly broken by the charge of the French; with the loſs of five hundred men he retired within the walls of Bednore, and ſoon after ſigned a capitulation, which, on a promiſe of their lives and liberties, delivered himſelf and his troops into the power of Tippoo Saib. That capitulation was ſoon violated by the faithleſs victor; he even juſtified the infraction, of the treaty, by the evaſion of the vanquiſhed to reſtore the ſpoils of Bednore, which they had ſtipulated to refund, but had endeavoured to conceal. The general was the unlamented victim of his own avarice, and is reported to have periſhed by poiſon; ſeveral of the principal officers were barbarouſly murdered; and the ſcanty remnant that were releaſed at the concluſion of the peace, had experienced ſufferings that rendered the fate of their ſlaughtered companions enviable.

The hoſtile ardour of the French and Engliſh ſquadrons had been mutually repreſſed by a ſenſe of their own danger, and to avoid the monſoons, that ſcatter deſtruction along the coaſt of Coromandel, each fought ſhelter in their reſpective harbours; but that tempeſtuous ſeaſon was no ſooner elapſed, than the ſpirit of enterpriſe revived; and monſieur Suffrein

Suffrein, early in the year, proceeded from Trincomalè to Cuddalore; he was there reinforced by twelve hundred European troops, which he diſperſed among his ſhips, and was lying at anchor in the road of Pondicherry when he diſcovered the approach of the Engliſh fleet under admiral Hughes.

The Britiſh ſquadron had been joined by five ſhips of the line from Europe, and was now ſuperior in number to the French by two ſhips of the line. But monſieur Suffrein was not diſmayed by this diſparity; and with the ſame ſpirit that had marked his former conduct, he prepared to maintain the honour of the French flag; the action began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and a heavy cannonade was continued until ſeven; at that hour the conflict ceaſed without any deciſive conſequences; each ſquadron had to lament the unavailing ſlaughter of a number of gallant men; and with this ſevere trial of their ſtrength, concluded the naval warfare in India; admiral Hughes ſoon after retired to Madraſs; and monſieur de Suffrein, who throughout the whole war had ſuſtained the character of a bold and ſkilful commander, proceeded to Cuddalore to return the land forces with which he had been reinforced, and to which he added two thouſand four hundred men from his own fleet.

This ſuccour, though important, was not more than neceſſary to the immediate defence of that place. The marquis de Buſſy, who had lately arrived in India with a conſiderable body of European troops, found his ſituation far from enviable; general Coote, whoſe ſkill, experience, and enterpriſing genius had been confirmed and diſplayed in the courſe of long ſervice, was indeed no more; and by his death the command of the Britiſh forces had devolved on general Stuart. But the marquis de Buſſy was ſoon taught that this officer aſpired at leaſt to rival the fame of his predeceſſor; and he

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was ſcarce arrived at Cuddalore before he beheld himſelf inveſted by the Britiſh troops, conducted by their new general, who had ſeized the favourable moment of enterpriſe when Tippoo Saib had evacuated the Carnatic for the recovery of Bednore.

The works of Cuddalore had been ſtrengthened by unwearied labour and diligence; and the marquis de Buſſy was ſtill employed in the conſtruction of new fortifications, when his progreſs was interrupted by the menacing manœuvres of the Engliſh, who rapidly advanced to aſſault the lines before they could be completed. The attack and defence were both maintained with a degree of reſolution that had ſeldom been experienced in that quarter of the globe, and perhaps never ſurpaſſed in Europe; the aſſailants, though frequently repulſed, as conſtantly returned to the charge; but the French were at length overwhelmed by numbers, and were compelled to abandon their out-poſts, with the loſs in killed and wounded of near ſix hundred of their beſt troops.

The arrival of the fleet under monſieur Suffrein, and the reinforcement that he landed from the ſhips, determined the marquis de Buſſy to hazard a vigorous ſally, in hopes of recovering the poſts that he had loſt, and of making ſome impreſſion on the works of the beſiegers. The conduct of this enterpriſe was entruſted to the chevalier de Damas, a knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, and the hour fixed for the execution of it was three o'clock in the morning. But though under cover of the darkneſs a tranſient advantage was gained, yet the Engliſh were ſoon alarmed; as light opened their numbers increaſed; the French were puſhed on every ſide; a complete rout enſued; the chevalier de Damas with about one hundred and fifty

fifty ſoldiers were taken priſoners, and near two hundred fell in the conflict.

It was at this critical juncture that the Medea frigate arrived from Madraſs at Cuddalore, and brought information of the concluſion of peace between the two nations; a mutual ceſſation of hoſtilities, and reſtoration of priſoners, immediately took place; and that tranquillity which the French already enjoyed in Europe, Africa, and America, was now extended to their tottering ſettlements and war-worn veterans in Aſia.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XLV.

The caiſſe d'Eſcompte ſtops payment—Reſtored again to credit——Differences between the Emperor and the Republic of Holland—Claim of the former to the navigation of the Schelde—The latter protected by France——Preparations for War——Mediation of France ſucceſsful—Treaty of alliance between France and Holland—Monſieur de Calonne appointed to the office of Comptroller-General—Eſtabliſhment of the caiſſe d'Amortiſſement, or ſinking Fund—Of a new Eaſt-India Company—Deficiency of the public Revenue—Death of the count de Vergennes—Aſſembly of the Notables—Splendid project of monſieur de Calonne to equalize the national burthens—Oppoſed by the archbiſhop of Toulouſe and the count de Mirabeau—Diſſatisfaction of the principal nobility, clergy, and magiſtrates—Monſieur de Calonne reſigns the office of Comptroller-General, and Retires to England.

THE preliminary articles which had been ſigned at Verſailles, were ſoon ſucceeded by a definitive treaty; France, throughout her extenſive dominions, beheld peace once more eſtabliſhed. Though the late war had been attended by the moſt brilliant ſucceſs, and the independence of America ſtruck deep at the ſource of her rival's power, yet ſhe herſelf had not entirely been free from inconvenience; the retreat of monſieur Necker from the management of the finances, had, as we have already obſerved, diminiſhed the public confidence; three different perſons who ſince his reſignation had tranſiently occupied the poſt of comptroller- A. D. 1783.

troller-general, increaſed the jealouſies of the people; and the failure of the celebrated Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, completed the univerſal conſternation.

That bank had been eſtabliſhed in the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-ſix. The plan was formed by a company of private adventurers, and its capital was fixed at five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. Its profeſſed deſign was to diſcount bills at ſhort dates, at the rate of four per cent. per annum; but as this intereſt could never be an equivalent for the capital ſunk by the proprietors, they were entruſted with the additional power of iſſuing notes to the amount of their capital, which, as they were capable at any time of being converted into ſpecie, might be often voluntarily taken by their cuſtomers from mere convenience. The reputation of the bank ſoon cauſed its ſtock to ſell above par, and its credit was ſtill at the higheſt, when to the aſtoniſhment of the nation, the ſecond day of October it ſuddenly ſtopped payment. The cauſe aſſigned was an uncommon ſcarcity of ſpecie; but the public imagined that the failure originated in a loan ſecretly made to government; and what confirmed the ſuſpicion was that government, about the ſame time, ſtopped payment of the bills drawn upon them by their army in America.

Whatever was the ſource of this event, the king was prevailed on to extend his protection to the falling company; four ſucceſſive edicts were publiſhed by adminiſtration tending to relieve the diſtreſs under which it laboured; by theſe the banks in Paris were ordered to receive the notes of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte as currency; a lottery with a ſtock of one million ſterling, redeemable in eight years, was alſo eſtabliſhed, and the tickets were made purchaſable in notes of the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte; by theſe expedients the public confidence in that bank was again revived, its buſineſs increaſed, and its

its ſtock roſe to a ſurpriſing amount, above double the original ſubſcription; the bills from America were at the ſame time put in a train of payment, and public credit was happily reſtored throughout the kingdom.

Some compenſation for the expences that had been incurred during the late war, was drawn from a treaty with the United States of America. Theſe engaged to reimburſe France in the ſum of eighteen millions of livres, which had been advanced in the hour of their diſtreſs, and Lewis conſented to receive the money, as more convenient to the States, in the ſpace of twelve years, by twelve equal and annual payments.

With the return of peace, it might naturally have been expected that France would have delivered herſelf from the heavy demands occaſioned by her numerous armies; yet inſtead of diſbanding her forces, ſhe continued diligently to fill up all deficiences; and her military eſtabliſhment in the midſt of tranquillity, rivalled that which was collected for a ſtate of profeſſed hoſtility; nor could this afford aſtoniſhment to her neighbours, ſince the peace of Europe was already menaced by reſtleſs ambition and the inſatiate luſt of dominion.

The emperor of Germany had long cheriſhed the hope of wreſting from the Dutch the principal fortreſſes of the Auſtrian Netherlands, which had been depoſited in their hands at the concluſion of the ſucceſſion war, for the mutual ſecurity of the court of Vienna, and themſelves. The advantages of this arrangement had been repeatedly experienced during the ſucceeding depreſſion of the houſe of Auſtria; but the preſent emperor felt his own power fully competent to the protection of his dominions, and he thought it derogatory to his honour, that a number of his principal cities ſhould be garriſoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners; he availed himſelf

himſelf of the juncture when Great Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was become the enemy of Holland, and extorted from the diſtreſs of the States a reluctant compliance. The Dutch garriſons and artillery were ſilently withdrawn from the barrier towns; and the emperor's order for diſmantling the fortreſſes was immediately executed.

Though France, bound to the emperor by ties of alliance, friendſhip, and blood, had tacitly acquieſced in this claim, yet the court of Verſailles did not regard with equal indifference his pretenſions to the free navigation of the Schelde. That court for ſome years had been divided into two parties, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters were the count de Vergennes, and the mareſchal de Caſtries; the former, who had long reſided at the Ottoman Porte, and was celebrated for his addreſs in negociation, poſſeſſed the confidence of Lewis, who himſelf mild and humane, admired thoſe talents in his miniſter which had been diſplayed in the reſtoration of peace; the latter, who had ſucceeded monſieur de Sartine in the marine department, was bold and enterpriſing, and had continually ſtood forth the advocate of war; he was ſupported by the queen, who, intelligent, active, and fond of public buſineſs, aſpired to diſpoſe of every lucrative or honorary appointment, and afforded no indifferent contraſt to the mild indolence of her royal conſort.

A. D. 1784. 1785. Though Holland had in ſome meaſure been deſerted at the concluſion of the peace, yet the protection the republic had received from France during the war, was ſtrongly enforced by the faction in the intereſt of the court of Verſailles, and which, known by the name of the Louveſtein party, conſiſted of the hereditary enemies of the Orange family. Their aſcendancy was become open and uncontrolled; they purſued, with a degree of political violence, the duke of Brunſwick Wolfen-

Wolfenbuttle, field mareſchal of the Dutch forces, and intimately connected with the houſe of Orange; the duke conſidered it as moſt prudent to bend before the ſtorm; he reſigned the offices that he had been entruſted with; and the ariſtocratic party having thus eſtabliſhed their triumph over their domeſtic enemies, depended on the friendſhip of France for protection againſt their foreign foes.

The immediate conſequence fully juſtified the confidence they had placed in their new ally. The emperor, encouraged by the facility with which he had atchieved the demolition of the Dutch barrier, now extended his pretenſions to a free navigation beyond fort Lillo, as far as the land of Seftingen, ſeveral miles up the Schelde, and inſiſted that the guardſhip that had been uſually ſtationed by the States at fort Lillo, ſhould be immediately withdrawn.

An acquieſcence with this demand would have ſtruck at the root of the wealth and power of the United States of Holland; the city of Antwerp, formerly renowned for its commerce, and ſtill celebrated for its opulence, was ſituated on the banks of the Schelde; and Spain, the former ſovereign of Antwerp, while ſhe conſidered the greatneſs and opulence of that city as inconſiſtent with her views of deſpotiſm, had concurred with the avarice of Holland in ſhutting up the Schelde; trade thus diverted, had flowed into different channels; and Amſterdam, though long before conſiderable, had from that period riſen on the ruins of Antwerp to be the firſt commercial city in Europe.

Her inhabitants therefore could not be indifferent to pretenſions which ſo materially affected their intereſts. Memorials and remonſtrances had in vain been preſented; in vain did they inſiſt that the whole courſe of the two branches of the Schelde, which paſſed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by, and owed its exiſtence

ence to, the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of inceſſant labour; and that they were ſtill maintained at a great and conſtant expence; that if it had not been for thoſe ſtanding monuments of Dutch enterpriſe, thoſe admirable dykes which excite the aſtoniſhment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, ſtagnating in immenſe marſhes and ſhallow lakes, had never reached the ſea in any diſtinct or ſufficient portion for navigation. And to theſe claims of natural right was to be added a ſeries of treaties which fortified them in the moſt expreſs and ſolemn terms in the excluſive poſſeſſion of the Schelde. To diſarm their formidable enemy by ſubmiſſion, they alſo removed the obnoxious guardſhip of Lillo, and rejected the propoſal of repairing the works of Maeſtricht, a fortreſs to which the emperor had urged his claim, leſt its being adopted at ſuch a ſeaſon ſhould give umbrage to that prince.

But the arguments and pacific meaſures of the ſtates were equally diſregarded by the emperor, and even the mediation of France was liſtened to with cold indifference; a brig was directed to proceed down the Schelde from Antwerp to the ſea, and his imperial majeſty declared that he would conſider the firſt inſult offered to his flag on this occaſion, as an act of formal hoſtility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic; the brig was however ſtopped by the Dutch naval officer; on the Auſtrian commander reſuming his courſe, ſome ſhot, though without any fatal conſequence to the crew, compelled him to deſiſt; and he was detained for ſome days by the Dutch admiral at the mouth of the Schelde.

From this moment the ſeeds of diſcontent ſeemed to ripen; the imperial ambaſſador was recalled from the Hague, and all negociation was ſuſpended; an army of ſixty thouſand men was under orders for marching

marching from the Auſtrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands, and immenſe trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war was put in motion; the republic, alarmed at theſe menacing appearances, now redoubted their ſolicitations to the court of Verſailles; the diſmiſſal of the duke of Brunſwick obliged the States to apply to France for a general, whoſe abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect in the war they expected; and Lewis granted to their diſtreſs the count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents, who had ſeen much ſervice in the late reign, but whoſe jealouſy of mareſchal d'Eſtrees, in the laſt German war, had precipitated him into intrigues, which had drawn upon him a ſevere cenſure from the tribunal of the mareſchals of France.

But the king confined not his friendſhip to the republic within the narrow limits of recommending a commander; the Pruſſian monarch was equally intereſted with Lewis in reſiſting the pretenſions of the emperor; prince Henry of Pruſſia, at this critical juncture, made a long viſit at the court of Verſailles; from that moment the count de Vergennes expoſtulated with the court of Vienna with more freedom and in leſs equivocal terms. To give weight to his negociations, the ſtanding forces of France were ſilently and gradually thrown into quarters on the borders of Alſace, Lorrain, and the Low Countries; and orders were given to form a camp of eighty thouſand men in the plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condè's ſplendid victories.

The emperor, though appriſed of the numerous enemies that he muſt encounter, ſtill appeared inflexible in the proſecution of his deſign; and the queen of France could not be inſenſible to a conteſt which involved her neareſt and deareſt connections,

and armed the hand of her conſort againſt her brother. On the morning when a grand council was to be held, the reſult of which was to be concluſive in reſpect to the part that France ſhould take, if the emperor perſiſted in his pretenſions againſt Holland, that princeſs took an opportunity of meeting monſieur de Vergennes before he entered the cabinet, and deſired that he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother; the miniſter replied that he certainly ſhould not; but that he was bound likewiſe to remember that the king of France was her huſband, and the dauphin her ſon.

The ability and firmneſs of that ſtateſman was the effectual ſecurity of the republic; and while the mind of the emperor was ſuppoſed to be entirely occupied by the navigation of the Schelde, the world was aſtoniſhed by his opening a new ſource of jealouſy and diſcord in Germany. With a levity which for ever extinguiſhed his reputation as a politician, he now meditated to exchange for the duchy of Bavaria the Auſtrian Netherlands; thoſe very Netherlands, upon whoſe account he ſeemed at the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, the conſequences of which, as had been ſtrongly urged by the court of Verſailles, could not even be calculated. Though this project was baffled by the firm and formidable interpoſition of the king of Pruſſia, the diverſion that it occaſioned allowed Holland leiſure to recover from its firſt ſurpriſe; it enabled France to complete her preparations, and facilitated the negociations of the count de Vergennes.

Inſtead of overwhelming in his career a diſtracted and defenceleſs multitude, the emperor perceived he muſt have encountered a people ſtubborn by nature, and highly irritated by a ſenſe of the injuries and indignities that had been impoſed on them; they were alſo ſupported by an ally, whoſe friendſhip

ſhip it was his intereſt to conciliate, and whoſe power, even ſingle, had more than once menaced to ſubvert the houſe of Auſtria. He now aſſumed a more moderate language, and to the deputies of the republic, who profeſſed their reſpect for his imperial majeſty, anſwered, that he ſhould order his ambaſſador at Paris to reſume the negociations, under the mediation of his brother the king of France; and he did not doubt but a ſpeedy concluſion would prevent the unhappy occurrences which muſt be the unavoidable conſequence of a farther delay.

The addreſs and abilities of the count de Vergennes contributed to remove every obſtruction, and under his auſpices the preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Paris about the middle of September; and two months afterwards the definitive treaty was ſubſcribed at Fontainbleau, under the guarantee of his moſt chriſtian majeſty.

The treaty of Munſter was laid down as the baſis of the preſent, and its ſtipulations to be in all caſes binding, where they were not expreſsly excepted by the new clauſes. The principle articles were, that the ſtates acknowledged the emperor's independent ſovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Seftingen; they bound themſelves not to interrupt in any manner the commerce or navigation of his ſubjects thereon; but that the reſt of the river beyond thoſe limits to the ſea, with the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and other neighbouring mouths of the ſea, were to continue under the ſovereignty of the States-general; they agreed to evacuate and demoliſh the forts of Kruiſchens and Frederic Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majeſty; they alſo ſubmitted to his diſcretion the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenſhoek, with the fortifications in their preſent condition, only reſerving to themſelves

ſelves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition. They alſo ſtipulated to pay his imperial majeſty the ſum of nine millions and a half of florins in the current money of Holland, in lieu of all his rights and pretenſions on Maeſtricht and its adjacent territories; and half a million more as an indemnification to his ſubjects for the damages they had ſuſtained from the inundations when the dyke near Lillo had been broken down by the Dutch.

While the count de Vergennes acquired the glory of having conducted this delicate negociation, he was not inattentive to the immediate intereſts of his own court. In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been ſigned, a new treaty of alliance between France and that republic was likewiſe concluded and finally ratified; the ſtipulations were ſuch as might be expected from the gratitude of the States, and the addreſs of the court of Verſailles. It included all the principles which can ſerve to bind or cement, in the cloſeſt and moſt indiſſoluble union, diſtinct nations under diſtinct governments; and by which they may mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all caſes adminiſter the moſt perfect aid, counſel, and ſuccour to each other.

It alſo preſcribed, if their united good offices for the preſervation of peace ſhould prove ineffectual, the aſſiſtance they were to impart to each other by ſea and land; France was to furniſh Holland with ten thouſand effective infantry, two thouſand cavalry, with twelve ſhips of the line and ſix frigates; and their high mightineſſes, in caſe of a marine war, or that France ſhould be attacked by ſea, were to contribute to her defence ſix ſhips of the line and three frigates; and in caſe of an attack on the territory of France, the States-general were to have

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the option of furniſhing their land contingent either in money or troops, at the eſtimate of five thouſand infantry, and one thouſand cavalry; and if the ſtipulated ſuccours ſhould be inſufficient for the defence of the party attacked, or for procuring a proper peace, they engaged to aſſiſt each other with all their forces, if neceſſary; it being however agreed that the contingent of troops to be furniſhed by the States-general ſhould not exceed twenty-thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry.

It was alſo added, that neither of the contracting powers ſhould diſarm, or make, or receive propoſals of peace or truce, without the conſent of the other; they promiſed alſo not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, directly or indirectly, contrary to the preſent treaty; and on any treaties or negociations being propoſed, which might prove detrimental to their joint intereſt, they pledged their faith to give notice to each other of ſuch propoſals as ſoon as made.

Thus was Holland, after beholding for above a century her fertile fields ravaged and her cities aſſaulted by the ambition of the houſe of Bourbon, now converted into the firm ally of that power againſt whoſe encroaching ſpirit ſhe had formerly armed the moſt powerful kingdoms of Europe; while France having aſſerted the independence of America againſt Great Britain, having reſcued the States-general from the reſtleſs rapacity of the houſe of Auſtria, and having converted an ancient and formidable foe into an uſeful friend, ſeemed to have attained an influence over the nations of the earth that ſhe had never been poſſeſſed from the firſt foundations of her monarchy.

But however exalted her preſent ſituation might appear, the ſeeds of future commotion were already apparent to the eye of an accurate obſerver; the applauſe

plauſe that had attended the parliament of Paris in their ſtruggles with Lewis the Fifteenth, might be conſidered as the firſt dawn of freedom; the language of that aſſembly had boldly inculcated to their countrymen their natural rights, and taught them to look with a more ſteady eye on the luſtre that hitherto had encompaſſed the throne. The war with America had contributed to enlarge the political ideas of the French; they had on that occaſion ſtood forth as the champions of liberty, in oppoſition to regal power; and the officers, who had acted on that conſpicuous ſtage, accuſtomed to think and ſpeak without reſtraint, on their return imparted the glorious flame to the provinces of France, which had been kindled in the wilds of America; from that moment the French, inſtead of ſilently acquieſcing under the edicts of their ſovereign, canvaſſed each action with bold and rigid impartiality; while the attachment of the army, which has ever been conſidered as the ſole foundation of deſpotiſm, gave way to an enthuſiaſtic admiration of freedom.

We have already noticed the public diſſatisfaction that had attended the diſmiſſal of monſieur Necker; his tranſient ſucceſſor, monſieur de Fleury, had retired from the management of the finances in eighty-three, and the more tranſient adminiſtration of monſieur d'Ormeſſon had expired in the ſame year that gave birth to it. On his retreat monſieur de Calonne, who had ſucceſſively filled with acknowledged reputation the office of intendant of Metz, and afterwards of the provinces of Flanders and Artois, was nominated to the poſt of comptroller-general; flexible and inſinuating, eloquent in converſation and poliſhed in his manners, fertile in reſources and liberal in the diſpoſal of the public money, he ſoon rendered himſelf acceptable

to

to the court, and acquired the favour of his ſovereign. But he did not enter upon his new and arduous ſtation favoured by the breath of popularity; he was reported to be more able than conſiſtent, and not to have tempered the ardour of his ſpirit by the ſeverity of deep reſearch; and the people, amidſt repeated loans, regretted that ſevere ſimplicity which had characteriſed the adminiſtration of monſieur Necker.

Yet the firſt operations of monſieur Calonne had extorted the general approbation; and it was his bold and judicious meaſures that had reſtored credit to the Caiſſe d'Eſcompte, the only incorporated banking company in France, and which had ſtopped payment a few weeks before his acceſſion. In the eſtabliſhments of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement, or ſinking fund, he ſtill merited a higher degree of applauſe. The plan of that fund was ſimple and moderate; it was to pay annually by government, into the hands of a board ſet apart for that purpoſe, the entire intereſt of the national debts, whether in ſtock or annuities, together with an additional ſum of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. The annuities that would be extinguiſhed every year were eſtimated at fifty thouſand pounds; and in that proportion, the ſum ſet apart for the redemption of the national debt, would annually encreaſe. The operation of this new fund was limited to the term of twenty-five years; and during that term the annual receipt of the Caiſſe d'Amortiſſement is declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object. A. D. 1784.

From the diſcuſſion of theſe new regulations of finance, the public attention was directed to the conduct of thoſe officers who, during the courſe of the war, had been entruſted with the naval forces of

of France. A council of war, which had been commiſſioned to try the count de Graſſe, and other captains of the fleet defeated by admiral Rodney, honourably acquitted the commander with the majority of the officers, and ſlightly cenſured a few, among whom was monſieur Bougainville, who had acquired a diſtinguiſhed reputation in exploring new coaſts, and navigating the moſt diſtant receſſes of the ocean.

If the perſonal gallantry of the count de Graſſe, though unfortunate, could ſecure him an honourable acquittal, the ſucceſsful courage and conduct of monſieur de Suffrein could not fail of commanding the moſt flattering reception. All ranks and orders of men vied with each other in marks of gratitude and attachment to the man who had ſo nobly ſuſtained the glory of the French flag, and who had ſhewn his countrymen the way to conqueſt on an element which had ſo repeatedly witneſſed their defeat and diſgrace. The compliment which was paid him by the queen, whether conſidered as a mark of the ſenſibility of her character, or the elegance of her taſte, cannot be unacceptable to the reader. Introducing him to the dauphin, a boy of three years old, ſhe added, "this is monſieur de "Suffrein, to whom we owe the greateſt obligations; obſerve him well, and remember his "name; it is one of the firſt of thoſe that you "muſt learn to repeat, in order that you may never "forget it."

A. D. 1785. During the laſt year, if the conduct of monſieur Calonne had not attached popularity to his adminiſtration, it yet might defy cenſure; but the principal meaſure of the year eighty-five was not equally guarded from reproach. From the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-three France had been without an Eaſt India Company; and though the idea of a free trade to that part of the world

world had hitherto been untried in Europe, ſhe did not appear to ſuffer in the experiment; on the contrary, her annual importation from India during this time was conſiderably greater than during any former period. Yet not content with the ſilent profit that thus accrued to the public, the court was induced to liſten to propoſals for eſtabliſhing a new Eaſt-India Company; their privilege was for ſeven years, with the ſpecial proviſo, that years of war, which ſhould occur in the interim, ſhould be excluded from the computation.

In the preamble of the act, by which the ſcheme was adopted, it was aſſerted, "that the commodities of Europe not having of late been regulated by any common ſtandard, or proportioned to the demands of India, had on the one hand ſold at a low price, while on the other the competition of the ſubjects of France had raiſed the price of the objects of importation; that upon their return home, a want of ſyſtem and aſſortment had been univerſally complained of, the market being glutted with one ſpecies of goods, and totally deſtitute of another; that theſe defects muſt neceſſarily continue as long as the trade remained in private hands; and that on theſe accounts, as well as of the capital required, the eſtabliſhment of a new company was abſolutely neceſſary."

Theſe reaſonings appeared by no means ſatisfactory to the perſons principally intereſted; it was remarked, that the arguments of the preamble did not apply more to the trade of India than to any other trade; and that if they were admitted in their entire force, they were calculated to give a finiſhing blow to the freedom of commerce. A proviſion in the act directing that the prices of Eaſt India goods in the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon ſhould be regulated by a tariff to be fixed by the court of Verſailles, excited ſtill louder exclamations; in this

inſtance

inſtance it was ſaid that the firſt principles of commerce were trampled upon in a manner the moſt wanton and abſurd; inſtead of ſuffering it to find its own level, by the mutual colliſion of the wants of one party, and the labour of another, it was arbitrarily to be faſhioned by a power, whoſe extreme diſtance muſt naturally render its deciſion ill timed and inapplicable. The very mode in which the monopoly was introduced was a ſubject of complaint; it was determined by a reſolution of the king in council; a proceeding totally inadequate to the importance of the ſubject, and which was to be regarded as clandeſtine and ſurreptitious. In all former inſtances ſuch meaſures had aſſumed the form of edicts, and were regiſtered in the parliaments; it was the prerogatives of theſe courts to verify them, that is, to enquire into the facts that had led to the adoption. The injured parties had an opportunity of being heard before the privilege aſſumed the form of a law; not privately by the miniſters of the ſovereign, but publicly by the moſt conſiderable bodies in the kingdom, and in the face of the nation.

Such were the free and animated ſtrictures with which the eſtabliſhment of a new Eaſt India Company was attended; nor could it eſcape obſervation, that the writers of the day had not only aſſumed a bolder and more independent ſtyle, but that they were deſirous of reviving the pretenſions of parliament, and of raiſing the tribunal of that aſſembly above the will of the crown.

To monſieur de Calonne theſe diſcuſſions were far from favourable; and the time was now rapidly approaching, when the neceſſities of the ſtate would compel him to meaſures ſtill more unpopular, and deſtined to undergo a ſeverer ſcrutiny; though peace had been re-eſtabliſhed throughout Europe for three years, yet the finances of France ſeemed ſcarce affected

fected by this interval of tranquillity, and it was found requiſite to cloſe every year with a loan; the public expenditure of the year eighty-five might probably ſcorn to ſanction this meaſure. It had been thought proper to fortify Cherbourg upon a large and magnificent ſcale; the claim of the emperor to the navigation of the Schelde, had obliged the French to increaſe their land forces, either to form a reſpectable neutrality, or to aſſiſt effectually their Dutch allies; and the marquis de Caſtries, fond of war, and profuſe in his deſigns, had not ſuffered the navy, which monſieur Sartine had ſurrendered into his hands, to moulder away during the interval of peace.

The treaty of commerce concluded this year with Great Britain was a new ſource of diſcontent; though regarded by the Engliſh manufacturers as far from advantageous, it excited in France ſtill louder murmurs, and was criticiſed with an uncommon degree of aſperity. It was conſidered as likely to extinguiſh thoſe infant eſtabliſhments, which were yet unable to vie with the manufactures of England that had attained to maturity; and the market that it held out for the wines and oils of France was paſſed over in ſilence, while the diſtreſs of the artiſan was painted in the moſt ſtriking and lively colours. A. D. 1786.

But when the edict for regiſtering the loan at the concluſion of the laſt year, and which amounted to the ſum of three millions three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds, was preſented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, with the remonſtrances of that aſſembly, aſſumed a more legal and formidable form. The king however ſignified to the ſelect deputation that were commiſſioned to convey to him their remonſtrances, that he expected to be obeyed without farther delay; accordingly the ceremony of the regiſtering took

took place on the next day, but was accompanied with a reſolution, importing that public œconomy was the only genuine ſource of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the neceſſities of the ſtate, and reſtoring that credit, which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin.

This proceeding was no ſooner known than the king required the attendance of the grand deputation of parliament; he eraſed from their records the reſolution that had been adopted; and obſerved, though it was his pleaſure that the parliament ſhould communicate by its reſpectful repreſentations whatever might intereſt the good of the public, yet he never would conſent that they ſhould ſo far abuſe his confidence and clemency as to erect themſelves into the cenſors of his adminiſtration; he expected in future that they ſhould confine their expreſſions within the limits of wiſdom and loyalty; he declar himſelf ſatisfied with the conduct of the comptroller-general, and determined on no account to ſuffer groundleſs apprehenſions to interfere with the plans calculated for the good of the ſtate and the eaſe of the nation; and more ſtrongly to mark his diſpleaſure at their expoſtulations, he directed the diſmiſſion from farther ſervice of one of their officers, who had appeared moſt active in forwarding the late reſolution.

Though the approbation and ſupport of his ſovereign was doubtleſs highly gratifying to monſieur de Calonne, yet he could not fail of feeling himſelf deeply mortified by the oppoſition of the parliament; his addreſs to conciliate that aſſembly had proved ineffectual, and he experienced their inflexible averſion at the critical juncture when their acquieſcence might have proved of the moſt eſſential ſervice. An anxious enquiry into the ſtate of the public finances had convinced him that the expenditure by far exceeded the revenue; in the preſent ſituation,

ſituation, to impoſe new taxes was impoſſible, to continue the method of borrowing was ruinous, and to have recourſe only to œconomical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate; and he heſitated not to declare that it would be impoſſible to place the finances on a ſolid baſis, but by the reformation of whatever was vicious in the conſtitution of the ſtate.

To give weight to this reform, the miniſter was ſenſible that ſomething more was neceſſary than the royal authority; he perceived that the parliament was neither a fit inſtrument for introducing a new order into public affairs, nor would ſubmit to be a paſſive machine for ſanctioning the plans of a miniſter, even if thoſe plans were the emanations of perfect wiſdom. Though originally a body of lawyers, indebted for their appointments to the king, there was not an attribute of genuine legiſlative aſſembly that they did not ſeem deſirous to engroſs to themſelves; and they had been ſupported in their pretenſions by the plaudits of the people, who were ſenſible that there was no other body in the nation that could plead their cauſe againſt royal oppreſſion; to ſuppreſs therefore the only power of control that remained, and to render the government more arbitrary, was deemed by the comptroller-general a meaſure of too much hardihood; yet to leave the parliament in the full poſſeſſion of their influence, an influence that he was convinced would be exerted againſt him, was at once to render his whole ſyſtem abortive.

Under theſe circumſtances, the only alternative that ſeemed to remain was to have recourſe to ſome other aſſembly, more dignified and ſolemn in its character, and that ſhould conſiſt in a greater degree of members from the various orders of the ſtate, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promiſed to be a popular meaſure; it implied a deference

ference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove greatly acceptable; but the true and legitimate aſſembly of the nation, the ſtates general, had not met ſince the year ſixteen hundred and fourteen; nor could the miniſter flatter himſelf with the hope of obtaining the royal aſſent to a meeting which a diſpotic ſovereign could not but regard with ſecret jealouſy. Another aſſembly had occaſionally been ſubſtituted in the room of the ſtates general; this was diſtinguiſhed by the title of the *Notables*, and conſiſted of a number of perſons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly ſelected from the higher orders of the ſtate, and nominated by the king himſelf. This aſſembly had been convened by Henry the Fourth, and again by Lewis the Thirteenth; and was now once more ſummoned by the authority of the preſent monarch.

The writs for calling together the aſſembly of the notables were dated on the twenty-ninth of December eighty-ſix; they were addreſſed to ſeven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field mareſchals, twenty-two nobles, eight counſellors of ſtate, four maſters of requeſts, eleven archbiſhops and biſhops, thirty-ſeven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the pays d'etats, the lieutenant civil, and twenty-five magiſtrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was one hundred and forty-four; and the twenty-ninth of January eighty-ſeven was the period appointed for their opening.

A. D. 1787. It was at the moment when the members of the notables had arrived at Paris, and that the attention of all claſſes in the kingdom was fixed upon their meeting as an important æra in the national hiſtory, that the miniſter found himſelf yet unprepared to ſubmit his ſyſtem to their inſpection, and poſtponed the opening of the council to the ſeventh of February. This delay was injudicious

judicious in the higheſt degree; politics ha udoɔc-pied the minds of men, particularly in the metro-polis, to the excluſion of every other ſubject; ſome of the plans of the comptroller-general had not been entirely concealed, and it was natural that they ſhould engage the premature reflections of the notables, forced from their uſual employments, and left without any other occupation for their leiſure; yet it was the deſign of the miniſter rather to dazzle their imagination, than to derive information from their debates; and he well knew if once they pro-ceeded to doubt, they would aſſume the guiſe of a legiſlature, inſtead of a council of ſtate, a circum-ſtance the fartheſt from his intentions.

A ſecond delay to the fourteenth of the ſame month was occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of mon-ſieur de Calonne himſelf, and that of the count de Vergennes; preſident of the council of finance, and firſt ſecretary of ſtate; and a third procraſtina-tion was the neceſſary reſult of the death of the count on the day previous to that fixed for the open-ing of the meeting. He was ſucceeded in the depart-ment of foreign affairs by the count de Montmorin, a nobleman of unblemiſhed character. But his loſs at this critical juncture was ſeverely felt by the comptroller-general; he alone of all the miniſters had entered with warmth and ſincerity into the plans of monſieur de Calonne. The chevalier de Miro-meſnil, keeper of the ſeals, was avowedly the rival and enemy of that ſtateſman. The mareſchal de Caſtries, ſecretary for the marine department, was perſonally attached to Mr. Necker, and preferred the intereſts of friendſhip to conſiderations which might otherwiſe have engaged his ſupport; and the baron de Breteuil, ſecretary for the houſehold, was the creature of the queen, and deeply engaged in what was called the Auſtrian ſyſtem.

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It was under theſe difficulties that monſieur de Calonne, on the twenty-ſecond of February, firſt met the aſſembly of the notables, and opened his long expected plan. He began by ſtating that the public expenditure had for centuries paſt exceeded the revenue, and that a very conſiderable deficiency had of courſe exiſted; that the Miſſiſippi ſcheme of ſeventeen hundred and twenty, had by no means, as might have been expected, reſtored the balance; that under the œconomical adminiſtration of cardinal Fleury the deficit ſtill exiſted; that the progreſs of this derangement under the laſt reign had been extreme; at the appointment of the abbé Terray it had amounted to three millions ſterling; that miniſter had reduced it to one million ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds; it became ſomewhat leſs under the ſhort adminiſtrations that followed; it roſe again in conſequence of the war, under the adminiſtration of monſieur Necker; and at his own acceſſion to office, it was three millions three hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

To remedy this evil the comptroller-general recommended a territorial impoſt, in the nature of the Engliſh land tax, from which no rank or order of men were to be exempted; an enquiry into the poſſeſſions of the clergy, which hitherto had been deemed ſacred, from their proportion of the public burthens; the various branches of internal taxation were alſo to undergo a ſtrict examination; and a conſiderable reſource was preſented in mortgaging the demeſne lands of the crown.

The very neceſſity for theſe reforms was combated with a degree of boldneſs and depth of reaſoning that could not fail of ſtrongly impreſſing the aſſembly; and from the hope of ready acquieſcence, the miniſter was now launched into the boundleſs ocean of political controverſy. Before monſieur Necker retired from the management of the finances, he

he had publiſhed his Compte rendu au Roi, in which France was repreſented as poſſeſſing a clear ſurplus of four hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; this performance had been read with avidity, and had been regarded as an æra in the hiſtory of France; it probably contributed to eſtrange from the author the royal countenance; but the credit of it was ably vindicated by monſieur de Brienne, archbiſhop of Toulouſe, a prelate eloquent and ambitious, and the paſſionate advocate and admirer of monſieur Necker.

A ſtill more formidable adverſary preſented himſelf to the comptroller general in the count de Mirabeau. This extraordinary man, reſtleſs in his diſpoſition, licentious in his morals, but bold, penetrating, and enterpriſing, had occaſionally viſited every court in Europe. He had been admitted at one time to the confidence of the miniſter, and had been directed, though in no oſtenſible character, to obſerve at Berlin the diſpoſition of the ſucceſſor of the great Frederic; in this capacity he was frequently expoſed to neglect and diſappointment; his letters were often left unanſwered; diſguſt quickly ſucceeded to admiration, and he who had entered the Pruſſian court the intimate friend, returned to Paris the avowed enemy of monſieur de Calonne; while the archbiſhop of Thoulouſe arraigned the underſtanding, the count de Mirabeau impeached the integrity of the comptroller general; he heſitated not to rank him among thoſe who preferred their fortune to their honour; and who had augmented their wealth by the moſt hiſhonourable ſpeculations in the funds; he added, that all his operations bore the ſtamp of deſpotiſm and perſonal intereſt; and he called upon the notables to addreſs their ſovereign in the honeſt language of truth; "let them "tell him that a man, who was eſtranged to "every principle of good faith, of fidelity in en-

" gagements, of reſpect to property, was unfit to " remain at the helm of commerce, of contracts, " and of law. Let them tell him, that pliancy " of ſpirit, facility of ſtudy, correctneſs of ſtyle, " the elegance of his preambles, the charms of " his elocution, were but ſo many new crimes in " a miniſter, who developed with ſkill the princi- " ples of an honeſt policy, and eluded and inſulted " them in his practice."

The eloquence of monſieur de Calonne might have ſucceſſively vindicated his ſyſtem and reputation againſt the calculations of Brienne, and the invectives of Mirabeau; but the genius of the comptroller general ſunk under the influence of the three great bodies of the nation; the grand and eſſential object of reform, was to equalize the public burthens, and by rendering the taxes general, to diminiſh the load of the lower and moſt uſeful claſſes of the people. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public aſſeſſments; and had the evil gone no farther, it might have been ſtill perhaps borne with patience; but through the ſhameful cuſtom of ſelling patents of nobility, ſuch crowds of new nobleſſe ſtarted up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; the firſt object with thoſe who had acquired fortunes rapidly, was to purchaſe a patent, which, beſides gratifying their vanity, afforded an exemption to them and their poſterity from contributing proportionably to the exigencies of the ſtate; the magiſtracies likewiſe throughout the kingdom enjoyed their ſhare of theſe exemptions; ſo that the whole weight of the taxes fell on thoſe who were leaſt able to bear them.

The deſign of equalizing the public burthens, though undoubtedly great, thus united againſt the miniſter, the nobility, the clergy, and the magiſtracy, and the event was ſuch as might be expected;

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the intrigues of thoſe three bodies raiſed againſt him ſo loud a clamour, that finding it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, monſieur de Calonne not only reſigned his place on the twelfth of April, but ſoon after retired to England from the ſtorm of perſecution; yet one ray of royal favour ſtill gilded the evening of his adminiſtration; and his rival, monſieur de Miroſmenil, received at the ſame time orders to reſign the ſeals.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Diſturbances in Holland—Ineffectual mediation of the courts of Verſailles and Berlin—Outrages of the republican party—The Princeſs of Orange detained—The king of Pruſſia demands ſatisfaction—The Pruſſians invade Holland—Conſternation of the republican party—Amſterdam capitulates—Attempts of the king of France to ſupport the Republicans—Preparations for War—The courts of Verſailles and Great Britain conſent to diſarm—Domeſtic concerns of France—Archbiſhop of Thouloufe appointed comptroller-general—Aſſembly of notables diſſolved—The parliament of Paris refuſe to regiſter the new taxes—Are baniſhed to Troyes—Are recalled—Oppoſe the edict for a loan—The duke of Orleans exiled, and two members impriſoned—Strong remonſtrances of the parliament—The duke of Orleans recalled—The parliament preſent new remonſtrances—Convention of the Notables—Propoſal to eſtabliſh the court Pleniere—Oppoſition to that meaſure—Arret for ſummoning the States-General—Meeting of that aſſembly—Concluſion of the hiſtory of France.

WHILE the mind of Lewis was aſſiduouſly occupied by the riſing ſpirit of diſcontent at home, the republic of Holland, his new and cloſe ally, preſented a ſcene of anarchy and faction that demanded his moſt ſerious attention. The prince of Orange had been ſtripped of all authority by the ariſtocratic party, and retiring from the Hague, maintained the ſhadow of a court at Nimeguen; yet feeble as his influence might appear in the United

ed Provinces, he was ſtill formidable from his powerful connections. His brother-in-law, the new king of Pruſſia, for Frederic the Great had cloſed his long and ſplendid career, was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the intereſts of the ſtadtholder, and had offered, in concert with France, to undertake the arduous taſk of compoſing the differences which diſtracted the republic; the propoſal was received with apparent cordiality by the court of Verſailles; and monſieur de Rayneval, who had already acquired conſiderable credit in negociation; particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England, was appointed to be the repreſentative of Lewis in the office of mediation.

Notwithſtanding theſe pacific meaſures, it could ſcarce be expected that France would become the inſtrument of reſtoring the prince of Orange to that ſhare of weight and power which he had before occupied in the republic, and thus abandon one of the longeſt and deareſt objects of her policy, the eſtabliſhing a ſupreme and permanent control in the affairs of Holland; the conditions that were framed by the Louveſtein faction as the baſis of reconciliation, were ſuch as plainly implied their deſign to contract the influence and authority of the ſtadtholder within very narrow limits; on his renouncing his right of filling up the occaſional vacancies in the town ſenates, he was to be reſtored to the nominal office of captain-general; but he was to be reſtrained from marching the troops into or out of any province, without leave from the reſpective provinces concerned; and he was alſo to ſubſcribe to a reſolution paſt ſome time before by the ſenate of Amſterdam, that the command ſhould at all times be revocable at the pleaſure of the ſtates.

Had the prince of Orange acquieſced in theſe preliminaries, France would have completely attained

tained the object of her long negociations, and by means of the Louveſtein faction have acquired the aſcendancy that ſhe had repeatedly ſought in the councils of Holland; but however unequal the prince of Orange might be conſidered to the difficulties that ſurrounded him, every deficiency was ſupplied by the genius, the ſpirit, and the abilities of his royal conſort; ſhe pertinaciouſly refuſed to give up any rights that had been attached to the office of ſtadtholder; and monſieur de Rayneval having in vain endeavoured to overcome her inflexible reſolution, broke off the correſpondence between the Hague and Nimeguen, and returned to Paris about the middle of January eighty-ſeven.

A. D. 1787. It was about this time that the republican party brought forward the propoſal of ſuſpending the prince of Orange from his offices of ſtadtholder and admiral general; the queſtion was agitated with the utmoſt warmth and acrimony for two ſucceſſive days; but thoſe who had propoſed it found the oppoſition ſo formidable, and the aſpect of the independent members ſo doubtful, that they did not chooſe to hazard the deciſion of a vote.

To this defeat it is not improbable that the abſence of Van Berkel, the firſt penſionary of Amſterdam, in a great meaſure contributed; this man had long been the leader and ſoul of the republican party, and was well qualified by his various talents for that lofty ſituation; his ambition was boundleſs, but his love of power was ſtill exceeded by his luſt of wealth; and tempted by the emoluments of office, he had ſacrificed his influence at home, to the lucrative appointment of repreſenting the republic as miniſter to the United States of America.

The abſence of this celebrated demagogue, though it embarraſſed the counſels, did not extinguiſh the zeal

zeal and ſpirit of his party. They were convinced that their power could only be retained by prompt and deciſive meaſures. In the ſenate of Amſterdam their influence daily diminiſhed; in that of Rotterdam they had been outvoted by a conſiderable majority; the provinces of Zealand, Frieſland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, had evinced the ſtrongeſt inclination towards the prince of Orange; and the ſmall provinces of Groningen and Overyſſel alone remained firmly attached to them. Thus, already tottering, they had recourſe to the reſtleſs multitude; aſſociations were formed, and large ſums of money ſubſcribed; and the burghers, provided with arms, ſoon proceeded to acts of open outrage. At Rotterdam they ſurrounded the ſenate houſe, compelled the ſenate to depoſe ſeven of their body, whom they conſidered as moſt adverſe to their deſigns, and veiling their violence under the form of an election, they filled the vacant places with ſeven of the moſt zealous of their own party; and as the degrated ſenators compriſed the deputies of the city in the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, the repreſentation of Rotterdam was of courſe totally changed.

On the very ſame day that the ſenate of Rotterdam was purged in this manner by the armed burghers, ſimilar meaſures were purſued by their brethren at Amſterdam. They ſurrounded the ſenate houſe early in the morning, and the affrighted magiſtrates entered into a negociation with them, which was ſpun out until the evening, when finding they had no alternative, they were obliged to ſubmit to the demands of the populace, by declaring that nine members of their body, whom the republican party had proſcribed, had abdicated their offices. Among theſe victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, who had lately voted on ſome occaſion on the

the ſide of the ſtadtholder. At the ſame time that they were clearing the ſenate of their adverſaries, the four colonels of the city militia, and conſequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were doomed to undergo their perſecution, and obliged to ſend in their reſignations.

The court of Verſailles had hitherto reaſon to exult in the ſucceſs of their party; the republican faction ſeemed every where triumphant, and the trembling adherents of the prince of Orange, each moment expected to be overwhelmed by the headlong torrent; but the turbulent diſpoſition of the people had at length arouſed from their lethargy the ſtates-general, who, accuſtomed ſolely to guard the republic from foreign invaſion, regarded with little emotion the diſſentions of the different provinces. The dread of beholding the whole commonwealth involved in anarchy, awaked the latent ſparks of power which, however concealed, muſt ſubſiſt in all ſtates. The preſumption of the city of Utrecht in withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue from their diſpoſal, ſeemed an object that merited immediate chaſtiſement; and a body of troops was commanded by the provincial ſtates to beſiege and humble the haughty inhabitants of that opulent capital. This feeble detachment was however encountered by a band of armed burghers; it was on this occaſion that the firſt blood was ſhed in this civil conflict; and the regulars endured the mortification of retiring before an inferior number of undiſciplined citizens.

Yet while the republicans received with avowed triumph the ſucceſs of their firſt eſſay in arms, they were blind to the tempeſt that impended over them; whether too confident of their own ſtrength, they had neglected to ſooth, or were incapable of aſſuming thoſe conciliating manners neceſſary to command, the affections of the military, the ſkirmiſh

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near Utrecht had ſcarce taken place, before the province of Holland was alarmed by the defection of two thirds of its regular forces, who quitted the poſts that had been aſſigned them, and declared in favour of the prince of Orange. To ſupply the deficiency, the volunteers and armed burghers were ſummoned to the defence of their country, and were appointed to guard the frontiers.

While the ſtates of that province were occupied in repreſſing the ſpirit of deſertion among their troops, an event took place which introduced new and more important actors on the ſtage, and abſorbed every other conſideration. The princeſs of Orange, who had been driven by the violence of the adverſe party from the Hague, now determined to return to the vicinity of that place, with the intention, as ſhe declared, of communicating with the ſtates general, and bringing forward ſuch conciliatory propoſitions, in the name of the prince, her huſband, as might avert if poſſible the evils and horrors of a civil war.

But the adverſe party regarded this journey in a different light; they ſaid, that in order to facilitate the ſtadtholder's open operations againſt them in the field, the princeſs had come into Holland, with a view of inciting inſurrection and rebellion; and that the debauching the troops of the ſtate, and increaſing their late defection, was alſo probably included in the ſyſtem; by theſe pretences they endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the populace to the raſh and imprudent meaſure on which they now ventured; for the princeſs had ſcarce paſſed Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, before ſhe was ſurrounded by a party of armed burghers, and was conveyed with every mark of licentious brutality, to a ſmall town at a conſiderable diſtance; ſhe was thence eſcorted by the ſame guards to Schoon-

Schoonhoven; and hopeleſs of being permitted to purſue her journey to the Hague, ſhe ſet out the next day for Nimeguen.

The king of Pruſſia, who had beheld with ſecret indignation, but with well-aſſumed indifference, the rights of his brother-in-law invaded by the turbulent ſpirit of the ſtates of Holland, now found in the inſult offered to his ſiſter, that pretence for interference that he had ſo long ardently wiſhed for. He ordered a ſtrong memorial to be preſented to the ſtates of Holland, in which he inſiſted on the moſt ample and ſpeedy ſatisfaction; at the ſame time he repreſented the indignity that he had ſuffered, in the perſon of the princeſs, to the court of Verſailles; and Lewis in pointed terms condemned the inſult, and recommended to the ſtates to efface the affront by the moſt liberal reparation.

The republican party could not conceal their mortification at finding their conduct condemned by that ally on whoſe ſupport they depended; yet whatever appearances the court of Verſailles might think proper to preſerve, the ſtates of Holland ſtill implicitly relied on the faith of France, and concluded, that in the hour of extremity her aſſiſtance would be proportioned to their diſtreſs. In this confidence they ſtill rejected all language of ſubmiſſion; they refuſed to enter into any diſcuſſion of the ſubject, and iſſued orders that every thing ſhould be prepared for laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops ſhould enter the territories of the republic.

The court of Berlin immediately made every diſpoſition for entering into action; nine thouſand Pruſſian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Weſel received orders to prepare accommodations

modations for the reception of an army of ſixty or ſeventy thouſand men; and the celebrated hereditary duke of Brunſwick, who by the death of his father was now become the ſovereign and reigning duke of that country, was called from his tranquil enjoyments, to command the forces of his royal kinſman, the king of Pruſſia.

The prince of Orange himſelf was not entirely inactive during theſe tranſactions. With the ſmall army that he had aſſembled, he poſſeſſed himſelf by a *coup de main* of the fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht, a place eminently noted for its early adoption of the moſt violent republican principles; and which from its ſituation was of ſtill more importance, ſince eſtabliſhed on the borders of Holland, twenty-four miles only from Amſterdam, it commanded the courſe of that part of the Rhine called the Lech, and might be conſidered as the key of the province on the ſide of Utrecht; he ſoon after reduced Harderwycke, a town in Guelderland, erected on the Zuyder Sea, was acknowledged by the city of Middleburgh and the whole province of Zealand, which declared without reſerve in his favour, blocked up the city of Utrecht, and repulſed an attempt that was made by the ſuperior numbers of the garriſon and inhabitants on one of his out poſts.

Theſe ſucceſſes probably ſerved to quicken the motions of the Pruſſians; and the duke of Brunſwick at the head of an army which conſiſted of about eighteen thouſand men, furniſhed with a train of light artillery, advanced from the duchy of Cleves, and about the middle of September entered the province of Guelderland in three columns; that on the right, which directed its courſe to the northward, was under the command of general Lottum; the centre was entruſted to the generals Waldeck and Gaudi;

di; and the left, which pointed its march to the ſouth, was led by the duke in perſon.

The ſucceſs of each diviſion was ſuch as might be expected from the dread conceived of the Pruſſian arms; and no ſuperiority of number could embolden either the regular or irregular forces of the province to endure any thing like a conflict even with the huſſars and chaſſeurs. Gorcum, though in a conſiderable ſtate of defence, and under the government of the celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, ſo eminent for his republican principles, ſurrendered after a few ſhots, and the garriſon and governor yielded themſelves priſoners of war to the duke of Brunſwick; Newport and Schoonhoven, both capable of a long reſiſtance, were abandoned by their garriſons; Dort, Leyden, and Harlem, ſubmitted on the firſt ſummons; and Rotterdam, on the appearance of the Pruſſians, threw open her gates and received the invaders with the loudeſt acclamations.

The progreſs of the column in the centre was equally rapid and ſplendid; on the approach of it, the turbulent city of Utrecht, which had derided the ſmall army under the prince of Orange, was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation; every other object and conſideration immediately gave way to the deſire of eſcape; the city was evacuated by all orders of armed men; the artillery was left on the works without centinels or guards; and the prince of Orange, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of a city which had long been conſidered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and next to Amſterdam as the principal ſeat and grand citadel of the republican party.

The column led by general Lottum on the right, met with rather more reſiſtance; Naarden, a ſtrong place, lying at the ſouth end of the Zuyder Sea, within thirteen miles of Amſterdam, rejected the

the ſummons of the Pruſſian commander, and gallantly prepared for defence. But general Lottum, whoſe detachment was by no means provided for a ſiege, turned aſide from the walls, and received the ſubmiſſion of Nieuwerſluys, a ſtrong fortreſs, with a garriſon of near eight hundred ſoldiers, who ſurrendered priſoners of war.

During theſe military tranſactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague; that town, the reſidence of the ſtates of Holland, was yet ſtrongly attached to the perſon and intereſts of the prince of Orange; the governing party, well aware of this diſpoſition, had brought in a ſtrong body of volunteers to overawe the ordinary garriſon, and inhabitants; but under the diſmay which the progreſs of the Pruſſians had excited on the republican ſide, it was eaſily ſeen that the volunteers would not long be able to keep the populace in ſubjection, and ſeveral principal perſons of that party accordingly retired for ſafety to Amſterdam.

The event juſtified their precaution; the Swiſs ſoldiers, who formerly compoſed the ſtadtholder's ſtate guard, boldly aſſembled, and carried off the two pieces of cannon that had been aſſigned for the ſupport of the volunteers; their zeal ſoon communicated to the inhabitants; the republicans on every ſide were diſarmed; the moſt violent members of the ſtates retired to Amſterdam, and the reſt of that aſſembly immediately ſent a deputation to ſolicit the return of the prince of Orange.

The prince accepted with tranſport the invitation, and with his conſort was received at the Hague with every demonſtration of joy; the ſtates without heſitation reſtored him to all thoſe offices and rights from which he had been ſuſpended, and conſequently annulled all proceedings which had been purſued againſt him in that province; they likewiſe iſſued an edict

edict forbidding all attempts to inundate the country, and ſtrictly commanding the governors of all cities to give free admiſſion to the Pruſſian troops; in conſequence of this, baron Matha, governor of Naarden, opened the gates of that town, on the ſame principle of duty on which before he had kept them cloſed.

All oppoſition was now centered in the city of Amſterdam, and its environs, whether the moſt active and moſt obſtinate of the republican party had fled from all quarters. That proud capital, undiſmayed by the general defection, made every preparation for the moſt deſperate reſiſtance. The ſurrounding country was laid under water; ſtrong batteries were every where erected; all the poſts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town were entrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the laſt extremity.

The danger was indeed already at their gates; and the duke of Brunſwick had already eſtabliſhed round the city a chain of poſts wherever the nature of the ground and the interſection of the dykes would admit; a tranſient negociation was ſcarce ſuffered to interrupt his ardour; and on finding the ſpirit of the Amſterdammers yet unſubdued, he determined to force their boaſted barrier. In order to render the alarm and conſternation more general, he not only ordered all the poſts to be attacked at the ſame inſtant, but that each ſhould be attacked in every quarter that it was poſſible to be approached; in a defence ſo extenſive, it is not ſurpriſing that ſome weak point ſhould have eſcaped the vigilance, or exceeded the ſtrength of the beſieged; the military talents of the duke of Brunſwick had never been diſplayed to more advantage; he availed himſelf of every favourable occurrence; and notwithſtanding the gallantry of the republicans, penetrated and eſtabliſhed his poſt within their boaſted barrier.

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The haughty city of Amſterdam was now for the firſt time delivered to the diſcretion of a victor, and, open on every ſide to bombardment, reluctantly deſcended to the language of ſubmiſſion. The magiſtracy declared themſelves obliged by the impending danger to ſubſcribe conditions which they yielded to, leſt others more ruinous might be impoſed. Sixteen perſons moſt obnoxious to the princeſs of Orange, were deprived of their reſpective offices; the members of the regency, who had been tumultuouſly depoſed for their attachment to the ſtadtholder, were immediately reſtored; the burghers and all perſons in the town, except the legal militia, were to be diſarmed; and the Leyden gate was delivered up to the Pruſſians to facilitate the performance of this laſt condition.

The court of Verſailles had long truſted to the natural ſtrength of the republican party, and had been aſſiduous throughout the whole ſummer in endeavouring to ſecond them by every deſcription of ſuccours that could be privately imparted. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in Holland, and either received commiſſions in the ſervice of the ſtates, or acted as volunteers in their troops. Several hundreds of tried and experienced ſoldiers, whoſe fidelity and diſcretion could be relied on, were ſelected from different regiments, and being furniſhed with money for their journey, and aſſurances of future favour, were diſpatched in ſmall parties to join the troops, and help to diſcipline the burghers and volunteers. A conſiderable corps of engineers, provided with clothes of common colours, and inſtructed what anſwers to make to any enquiries, were directed to proceed ſilently towards Amſterdam, and to aſſiſt in ſtrengthening the works of that city.

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Theſe aids, which might have proved effectual had the conteſt been confined to the ſtates of Holland and the prince of Orange, were overwhelmed in the rapid invaſion of the Pruſſians; and the court of Berlin had taken its meaſures with ſo much celerity, and the ſituation of the republicans was already become ſo deſperate, that it was doubtful whether their affairs could be reſtored by any aſſiſtance that France was capable of immediately adminiſtering. Yet on Great-Britain fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war at Portſmouth to give confidence to the operations of the king of Pruſſia, the court of Verſailles alſo ſent orders to equip ſixteen ſail of the line at Breſt, and recalled a ſmall ſquadron which had been commiſſioned on a ſummer's cruize on the coaſt of Portugal.

In theſe preparations the king of France ſeemed rather to regard his own dignity, than to be actuated by any hopes of affording effectual relief to his allies. All oppoſition in Holland might be already conſidered as extinquiſhed. The ſtates aſſembled at the Hague, had officially notified to the court of Verſailles, that the diſputes between that province and the ſtadtholder were now happily terminated; and as the circumſtances which gave occaſion for their application to that court no longer exiſted, ſo the ſuccours which they had then requeſted would now be unneceſſary.

Under theſe circumſtances France could only wiſh to extricate herſelf from her preſent difficulty with honour; and the French king therefore readily liſtened to a memorial from the Britiſh miniſters at Paris, who propoſed, to preſerve the good underſtanding between the two crowns, that all warlike preparations ſhould be diſcontinued, and that the navies of both nations ſhould be again placed upon the footing of a peace eſtabliſhment. This was willingly

lingly acceded to by the court of Verſailles; a ſhort inſtrument was ſigned by monſieur de Montmorin and the duke of Dorſet, in the names of their reſpective ſovereigns; and that harmony which had been tranſiently interrupted, was reſtored between France and Great-Britain.

Though Lewis could not but ſeverely feel the mortification of thus relinquiſhing the aſcendancy, that he had attained in the councils of Holland, and was not inſenſible to the diſgrace of abandoning a people who had implicitly relied on his faith, yet every other conſideration was abſorbed by the ſtate of his own domeſtic concerns, and the internal ſituation of his kingdom, which furniſhed matter for deep and ſerious reflection. The diſmiſſal of monſieur de Calonne had left France without a miniſter, and almoſt without a ſyſtem; and though the king bore the oppoſition of the notables with admirable temper, yet the diſappointment that he had experienced was grievous and highly diſcouraging. Without obtaining any relief for his moſt urgent neceſſities, he perceived too late that he had opened a path to the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution of France, which had been undermined by the crafty Lewis the Eleventh, and had been nearly ſwept away by the daring and ſanguinary counſels of Richelieu, under Lewis the Thirteenth. The notables had indeed conducted themſelves with reſpect and moderation, but at the ſame time they had not been deficient in firmneſs; the appointment of monſieur de Brienne, archbiſhop of Thouloufe, and the vigorous adverſary of monſieur de Calonne, to the office of comptroller general, probably contributed to preſerve the appearance of good humour in that aſſembly; yet the propoſed territorial impoſt, or general land tax, which was an object ſo ardently coveted by the court, was rejected; and

on this occaſion the attorney general of Provence was bold enough to declare, that neither that aſſembly, the parliaments, nor the king himſelf could aſſeſs any ſuch impoſt in the country which he repreſented, ſince it was directly contrary to the ſpecific and indefeaſible rights of the people.

The king now deprived of any farther hope of rendering the convention the inſtrument of extricating him from his embarraſſments, determined to diſmiſs the meeting; his ſpeech on diſſolving the aſſembly was well calculated to engage the inclinations of the members. He acknowledged that they had fulfilled his expectations in aſſiſting him with their counſels; that they had not only properly enquired into various abuſes, but had ſuggeſted the means of reforming them; that they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object of reducing the expences of the ſtate to a level with the public revenues, by the proviſional taxes which they had recommended as the moſt proper to be laid on his ſubjects; and he concluded by declaring the ſatisfaction that he enjoyed in the hope, that theſe new impoſts would not be ſo burthenſome as thoſe of former times; the only wiſh of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and happy as poſſible.

Lewis, thus diſappointed of thoſe advantages, which he had flattered himſelf that he ſhould have drawn from the acquieſcence of the notables, was obliged now to recur to the uſual mode of raiſing money by the royal edicts; among the meaſures propoſed for this purpoſe was the doubling of the poll tax, the re-eſtabliſhment of the third twentieth, and a ſtamp duty; the whole was ſtrongly diſapproved by the parliament of Paris, but the laſt in particular was the immediate object of contention; and that aſſembly in the moſt poſitive terms refuſed

to

to regiſter the edict. The king was obliged to apply, as the laſt reſort, to his abſolute authority, and by holding what is called a bed of juſtice, compelled them to enroll the impoſt.

The parliament, though defeated, were far from ſubdued; on the day after the king had held his bed of juſtice, they entered a formal proteſt againſt the conceſſion that had been extorted from them. They declared that the edict had been regiſtered againſt their approbation and conſent, by the king's expreſs command; that it neither ought, nor *ſhould* have any force; and that the firſt perſon who ſhould preſume to attempt to carry it into execution, ſhould be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys.

This declaration left to the crown no other alternative than either proceeding to extremities in ſupport of its authority, or giving up for ever after the power of raiſing money upon any occaſion, without the conſent of the parliament; painful as every appearance of violence muſt have proved to the mild diſpoſition of Lewis, he could not conſent to ſurrender, without a ſtruggle, that authority which had been ſo long exerciſed by his predeceſſors. Since the commencement of the preſent diſcontents, the capital had been gradually filled with conſiderable bodies of troops, and about a week after the parliament had entered the proteſt, an officer of the French guards, with a party of ſoldiers, went at break of day to the houſe of each individual member, to ſignify to him the king's command, that he ſhould immediately get into his carriage, and proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about ſeventy miles from Paris, without writing or ſpeaking to any perſon out of his own houſe before his departure; theſe orders were ſerved at the ſame inſtant, and before the citizens of Paris were acquaint-

ed with the tranſaction, the parliament were already on the road to the ſcene of their baniſhment.

But previous to their removal, they had preſented a remonſtrance on the late meaſures of government, and the alarming ſtate of the public affairs; in ſtating their opinions on taxes, they declared that neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, excepting that of the three eſtates of the kingdom, collectively aſſembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people; and they ſtrongly enforced the renewal of thoſe national aſſemblies, which had rendered the reign of Charlemagne ſo great and illuſtrious.

The ardent deſire of the parliaments to re-eſtabliſh the national council, or ſtates general, was the more honourable, as the former aſſemblies muſt have ſunk under the influence of the latter, and returned to their original condition of mere regiſters and courts of law. The confidence and attachment of the people of conſequence roſe in proportion to this inſtance of diſintereſtedneſs; their murmurs were openly expreſſed in the ſtreets of the capital, and the general diſſatisfaction was augmented by the ſtop that was put to public buſineſs, by the exile of the chief magiſtrates.

The court at the ſame time was apparently weak and divided, and continual changes took place in every departure of the ſtate. The king, averſe to rigorous counſels, wiſhed to allay the growing diſcontent by every conceſſion that was conſiſtent with his dignity; but it was generally believed that his regal conſort ſtrongly diſſuaded him from any ſtep that might tend to the diminution of the royal authority; the influence of that princeſs in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which once had accompanied her was no more; and

and ſome imputations of private levity, which had been rumoured through the capital, were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people; while the count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expreſſed himſelf in the moſt unguarded terms againſt the perſeverance of the parliament, ſtood expoſed to all the hatred of a lively and inſulted people.

It was not only in Paris that the flame of liberty once more burſt forth; the provincial parliaments imitated that of the capital; among various inſtances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble paſſed a decree againſt *Lettres de Cachet*, the moſt odious engine of arbitrary power, and declared the execution of them, within their juriſdiction, by any perſon, and under any authority, to be a capital crime.

The king had endeavoured to ſooth the diſcontented minds of the Pariſians by new regulations of œconomy, and by continual retrenchments in his houſehold; but theſe proofs of attention, which once would have been received with the loudeſt acclamations, were now loſt in their open affliction for the abſence of their parliament; and the monarch, to regain the affections of his ſubjects, after an exile of a month, conſented to reſtore that aſſembly; the ſources of diſpute in the territorial impoſt, and ſtamp duty, were abandoned by Lewis, and the parliament on their ſide conſented to regiſter an edict, by which the archbiſhop of Thouloufe was conſtituted firſt miniſter of ſtate.

This harmony was not of long duration; the neceſſities of the ſtate ſtill continued, nor could the deficiency of the revenue be ſupplied but by extraordinary reſources, or a long courſe of rigid frugality; about the middle of November, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes

princes of the blood, and the peers of France, the king entered the aſſembly, and propoſed two edicts for their approbation; the firſt was for a new loan for four hundred and fifty millions, near nineteen millions ſterling; the ſecond was for the re-eſtabliſhment of the proteſtants in all their ancient civil rights, a meaſure which had long been warmly recommended by the parliament, and which was probably now introduced to procure a better reception to the loan.

In uſhering in theſe edicts, the king had delivered himſelf in a ſpeech of uncommon length, replete with every ſentiment of regard for the people, but at the ſame time full of intimation to the parliament of the obedience he expected. It is poſſible that Lewis imagined that the dread of that baniſhment from which they had been ſo lately recalled, would have enſured the acquieſcence of the aſſembly; but no ſooner was permiſſion announced for every member to deliver his ſentiment, than he was convinced their ſpirits were unſubdued by their recent exile. An animated debate was continued for nine hours, when the king wearied by inceſſant oppoſition, and chagrined at ſome freedoms uſed in their arguments, ſuddenly roſe, and commanded the edict to be regiſtered without further delay. This meaſure was moſt unexpectedly oppoſed by the duke of Orleans, firſt prince of the blood, who, conſidering it as an infringement of the rights of parliament, proteſted againſt the whole proceedings of the day as being thereby null and void. Though Lewis could not conceal his aſtoniſhment and diſpleaſure at this deciſive ſtep, he contented himſelf with repeating his orders, and immediately after, quitting the aſſembly, retired to Verſailles.

On the ſovereign's departure, the parliament confirmed the proteſt of the duke of Orleans, and declared,

clared, as their deliberations had been interrupted, they conſidered the whole buſineſs of that day as of no effect. But it was not to be ſuppoſed that Lewis would ſilently paſs over ſo bold an attack on the authority of the crown. The baron de Breteuil next day delivered a letter to the duke of Orleans, in which he was commanded to retire to Villars Cotterel, one of his ſeats about fifteen leagues from Paris, and to receive no company there, except his own family; at the ſame time the abbé Sabatiere, and monſieur Freteau, both members of the parliament, and who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the debate, were ſeized under the authority of lettres de cachet, and conveyed the firſt to the caſtle of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, the laſt to a priſon in Picardy.

The parliament were not ſlow in proclaiming their feelings at this act of oppreſſion; on the following day they waited on the king, and expreſſed their aſtoniſhment and concern that a prince of the blood royal had been exiled, and two of their members impriſoned, for having declared in his preſence what their duty and conſciences dictated; and at a time when his majeſty had announced that he came to take the ſenſe of the aſſembly by a plurality of voices. The anſwer of the king was reſerved and forbidding; "when I put away from my preſence a "prince of my blood, my parliament ought to be-"lieve that I have ſtrong reaſons for doing it; I "have puniſhed two magiſtrates, with whoſe con-"duct I ought to be diſſatisfied."

This cold and ſtately repulſe did not diſcourage the parliament from preſenting a long addreſs, in which they repreſented in glowing colours the conſequence of the late acts of violence, and painted the unworthy treatment of the two ſuffering magiſtrates confined in horrid and unwholeſome priſons, where life

life was a continual puniſhment; "if exile," they add, "is the recompence of fidelity to the princes "of your blood; if outrage and captivity threaten "the ingenuouſneſs of the firſt magiſtrates of the "kingdom, we may aſk ourſelves with terror and "grief, what will become of the laws, of the pub-"lic liberty, of the honour, and of the manners "of the nation?"

Yet this ſpirit of reſentment did not prevent the parliament from attending to the exigencies of the ſtate; and convinced of the emergency, they conſented to regiſter the loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, which had been the ſource of this unfortunate difference; it is probable this conceſſion concurred to act upon the mind of the king, naturally humane, and the ſentence of the two magiſtrates was in conſequence changed from impriſonment to exile; monſieur Freteau being ſent to one of his country ſeats, and the abbé Sabatiere to a convent of Benedictines.

The parliament was however unwilling to give up the points againſt which they had originally remonſtrated; and in a petition conceived with freedom, and couched in the moſt animated language, they boldly reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence. "We do not come," they declare, "ſo "much to claim your compaſſion, as the protection "of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone "that we addreſs ourſelves: it is not a favour "which your parliament ſolicits; it comes, ſire, "to *demand juſtice*. That juſtice which is ſubject "to regulations, independent of the will of man; "even kings themſelves are ſubſervient to them; "that glorious prince Henry the Fourth acknow-"ledged that he had two ſovereigns, God, and the "laws.

"One of theſe regulations is to condemn no "one

" one without a hearing; it is a duty in all times,
" and in all places; it is the duty of all men; and
" your majeſty will allow us to repreſent to you,
" that it is as obligatory on you, as on your ſub-
" jects.

" It is therefore in the name of thoſe laws which
" preſerve empires; in the name of that liberty for
" which we are the reſpectful interpreters and the
" lawful mediators; in the name of your authority,
" of which we are the firſt and moſt confidential
" miniſters, that we dare to demand the trial or
" the liberty of the duke of Orleans, and the two
" exiled magiſtrates, who are impriſoned by a ſud-
" den order, as contrary to the ſentiments as the
" intereſts of your majeſty."

Such pretenſions ſtruck at once at the root of arbitrary power; and while they A. D. 1788. delivered the ſubject from fear, would have diſarmed the vengeance of the ſovereign. But we have already noticed the fluctuating counſels of the court of Verſailles; and Lewis, as often as he was left to purſue his own inclinations, adopted meaſures of reconciliation; in the beginning of the year he recalled the duke of Orleans to court, who ſoon after obtained leave to retire to England; and permitted the return of the abbé Sabatiere and monſieur Freteau.

The parliament of Paris had not confined their demands to the liberation of theſe gentlemen, but had echoed the remonſtrances of the parliament of Grenoble, and had loudly inveighed againſt the execution of *lettres de cachet*. Theſe repeated remonſtrances, mingled with perſonal reflections, ſeconded moſt probably the ſuggeſtions of the queen, and Lewis was once more prevailed on to recur to ſeverity. Meſſieurs d'Eſpremevil and Monſambert, whoſe

whoſe bold and pointed harangues had preſſed moſt cloſely on the dignity of the crown, were doomed to experience its immediate reſentment. While a body of armed troops ſurrounded the hotel in which the parliament were convened, monſieur Degout, an officer of the rank of colonel, entered the aſſembly, and ſecured the perſons of the obnoxious members; monſieur d'Eſpremevil was conducted to the ſtate priſon of the iſlands of St. Marguerite, and monſieur de Monſambert to that of Pierre Enciſe.

The remonſtrance of the parliament on this new inſtance of deſpotiſm, exceeded in boldneſs all the former repreſentations of that aſſembly. They declared they were now more ſtrongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at in the conſtitution. "But, ſire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the "deſpotic meaſures to which you are adviſed, and "whoſe effects alarm the moſt faithful of your ma- "giſtrates; we ſhall not repeat all the unfortunate "circumſtances which afflict us; we ſhall only re- "preſent to you with reſpectful firmneſs, that the "fundamental laws of the kingdom *muſt* not be "trampled upon; and that *your authority can only* "*be eſteemed, ſo long as it is tempered with juſtice.*"

Language ſo bold and deciſive, and which aſſerted the controlling power of the laws above the regal authority, could not fail of ſeriouſly alarming the royal boſom. To diminiſh the influence of parliament, it was determined again to convene the notables, and about the beginning of May, Lewis appeared in that aſſembly, and after complaining of the exceſſes in which the parliament of Paris had indulged themſelves, and which had drawn down his tardy indignation on a few of the members, he declared his reſolution, inſtead of annihilating them

as

as a body, to bring them back to their duty and obedience by a ſalutary reform. Monſieur de La Moignon, as keeper of the ſeals, explained his majeſty's pleaſure to eſtabliſh a *cour pleniere* or ſupreme aſſembly, to be compoſed of princes of the blood, peers of the realm, great officers of the crown, the clergy, mareſchals of France, governors of provinces, knights of different orders, a deputation of one member from every parliament, and two members from the chambers of council, and to be ſummoned as often as the public emergency, in the royal opinion, ſhould render it requiſite.

If the aſſembly of the notables liſtened in ſilent deference to the project of their ſovereign, the parliament of Paris received it with every ſymptom of rooted averſion; they ſtrongly proteſted againſt the eſtabliſhment of any other tribunal, and declared their final reſolution not to aſſiſt at any deliberations in the ſupreme aſſembly which his majeſty prepared to inſtitute; a more unexpected mortification occurred to the king in the oppoſition of ſeveral peers of the realm; theſe expreſſed their regret at beholding the fundamental principles of the kingdom violated; and while they were laviſh in their profeſſions of attachment to the perſon of their ſovereignty, concluded with apologizing for not entering on thoſe functions aſſigned them in the plenary court, as inconſiſtent with the true intereſts of his majeſty, which were inſeparable from thoſe of the nation.

The flame quickly communicated throughout the more diſtant provinces; at Rennes in Brittany, and Grenoble in Dauphinè, the people burſt forth into acts of the moſt daring outrage; in the latter city ſeveral hundreds of the inhabitants periſhed in a conflict with the military; they yet maintained their ground

ground againſt the regulars; and the prudence of the commanding officer, at the entreaties of the firſt preſident, readily withdrew his troops from a conteſt into which he had entered with reluctance.

The different parliaments of the kingdom at the ſame time expreſſed their feelings in the moſt energetic language; and the parliament of Dauphinè, in particular, ſtrongly urged the neceſſity of calling together the ſtates-general, the lawful council of the kingdom, as the only means of reſtoring the public tranquillity.

No alternative remained now to Lewis but to plunge his country into all the calamities of civil war, or to comply with the wiſhes of his people, and re-eſtabliſh the ſtates-general. In the firſt caſe, he muſt have expected to have encountered the majority of the people, animated by the exhortations and examples of their magiſtrates; the peers of the realm had expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of his meaſures, nor could he even depend any longer on the concurrence of the princes of his blood; but what afforded moſt ſerious matter of alarm was the ſpirit lately diſplayed among the military, who, during the diſturbances in the provinces, had reluctantly been brought to draw their ſwords againſt their countrymen; and many of whoſe officers, ſo recently engaged in eſtabliſhing the freedom of America, publicly proclaimed their abhorrence of deſpotiſm.

Yet it was not till after many a painful ſtruggle, that Lewis could reſolve to reſtore an aſſembly, whoſe influence muſt naturally overſhadow that of the crown, and whoſe juriſdiction would confine, within narrow limits, the boundleſs power he had inherited from his predeceſſor. During the two preceding reigns, the ſtates-general had been wholly diſcon-

diſcontinued; and though the queen-regent, during the troubles which attended the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth, frequently expreſſed her intention of calling them together, ſhe was conſtantly diſſuaded by the repreſentations of the crafty Mazarin; it is probable that the preſent monarch ſtill flattered himſelf with the fallacious hope of being able to allure the members of that aſſembly to the ſide of the court; and having employed them to eſtabliſh ſome degree of regularity in the finances, and to curb the ſpirit of the parliaments, he would again have diſmiſſed them to obſcurity.

It was under theſe impreſſions, in the beginning of Auguſt, an arret was publiſhed, which fixed the meeting of the ſtates-general to the firſt of May in the enſuing year; at the ſame time every ſtep was taken to ſecure the favourable opinion of the public. New arrangements took place in the adminiſtration, and monſieur Necker, whom the confidence of the people had long followed, was again introduced into the management of the finances; the torture, which by a former edict had been reſtricted in part, was now entirely aboliſhed; every perſon accuſed was allowed the aſſiſtance of counſel, and permitted to avail himſelf of any point of law; and it was decreed that in future, ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed on any perſon, unleſs the party accuſed ſhould be pronounced guilty by a majority at leaſt of three judges.

But the moſt important conſideration that occupied the attention of the ſovereign and his miniſters, was the means of re-aſſembling the ſtates-general. The laſt meeting, in the year ſixteen hundred and fourteen, had been convened by application to the bailiwicks; but this mode was liable to ſeveral ſtrong objections; their bailiwicks had been increaſed in number and juriſdiction, and ſince that period ſeveral provinces had

had been united to France; nor were the numbers and quality of the members leſs an object of ſerious deliberation; and it was not till the cloſe of the year that the propoſal of monſieur Necker was adopted, and publicly regiſtered, which fixed the number of deputies at one thouſand and upwards; and ordained that the repreſentatives of the third eſtate, or commons, ſhould equal in number thoſe of the nobility and clergy united.

A. D. 1789. The eyes of all Europe were now turned on the ſtates-general, whoſe re-eſtabliſhment preſented a new æra in the government of France. But the moment of their meeting was far from auſpicious; the minds of the French had long been agitated by various rumours; the unanimity that had been expected from the different orders of the ſtates was extinguiſhed by the jarring pretenſions of each; and their mutual jealouſies were attributed by the ſuſpicions of the people to the intrigues of the court, who were ſuppoſed already to repent of the haſty aſſent that had been extorted. A dearth that pervaded the kingdom increaſed the general gloom and diſcontent, and the people preſſed by hunger, and inflamed by reſentment, were ripe for revolt. The ſovereign alſo, equally impatient of the obſtacles he inceſſantly encountered, could not conceal his chagrin; the influence of the queen in the cabinet was again eſtabliſhed, and was attended by the immediate removal of monſieur Necker; the diſmiſſal of that miniſter, ſo long the favourite of the public, was the ſignal of open inſurrection; the Pariſians aſſembled in myriads; the guards refuſed to ſtain their arms with the blood of their fellow-citizens; the count d'Artois, and the moſt obnoxious of the nobility thought themſelves happy in eluding by flight the fury of the inſurgents; and in

in a moment a revolution was accompliſhed, which hurled Lewis the Sixteenth from the throne of deſpotiſm, a ſlave to the caprice of the multitude, and a memorable example to future ages of the inſtability of human greatneſs.

INDEX.

INDEX.

INDEX.

INDEX.

INDEX.

INDEX.

INDEX.

INDEX.

Venetians,

INDEX.

THE END.